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Inside: 1998 Roster

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California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

Antonio Villaraigosa

and the new legislative leadership

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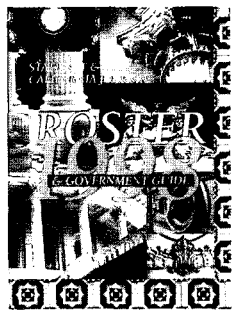
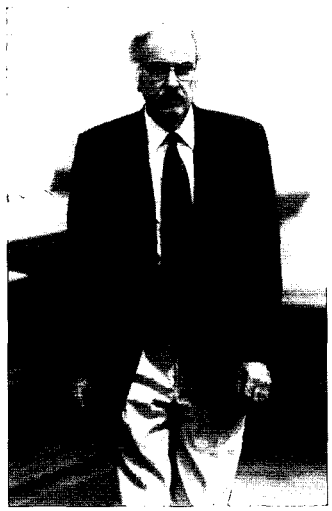


The 1998 Roster & Government Guide

The pullout center section of this month's issue is the latest edition of *California Journal's* annual *Roster & Government Guide*. The Roster is a compendium of essential information about the Legislature and state government. Included are Capitol and district staff, phone and fax numbers, and addresses for legislators, constitutional officers, state agencies and departments, members of Congress and the State Supreme Court. Also listed are other useful numbers and information about how to traverse the maze of state government.



Leadership Changes

In the space of a week, new leaders were designated in both the Assembly and the Senate. Welcome to the era of term limits.
By Steve Scott

Antonio Villaraigosa

The Assembly's second consecutive Latino speaker seeks to position himself as an ethnic pol with "crossover" appeal.
by Gregory Rodriguez

John Burton

A long and bumpy road leads a veteran of three decades in public life to the post of Senate president pro tempore, arguably the most powerful legislative post in the state.
By Greg Lucas

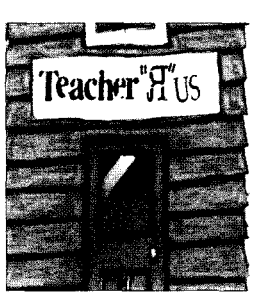
Delaine Eastin

The outspoken and sometimes combative state schools chief tries to use her bully pulpit in the face of hostility from political opponents and the state board of education.
By Sigrid Bathen

Teacher Credentialing

Class-size reduction prompted an instant demand for new teachers. How will the state ensure that these new arrivals are qualified to teach in the state's public schools?
By Sylvia Fox

Up Front 4
Two Cents 5
Washington Perspective 64



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Upfront

umbrage

Golden Parachute. When the end of the party was in sight for Assembly Speaker Cruz Bustamante (D-Fresno), the outgoing speaker decided it was time to start handing out party favors. The *Assembly Daily Journal* listed a dozen different appointments made by the lame-duck speaker the day after his successor, Majority Leader Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles) was picked by his caucus (see story, page 6). Among those on the "A" list was Daniel Eaton, Bustamante's chief of staff, who was tapped to serve on the Integrated Waste Management Board. Never heard of it? Rest assured, your representatives have. It's one of many six-figure goodies leaders hand out to loyal aides and former members who, for one reason or another, are on their way out the door. Bustamante insists Eaton was qualified because he'd helped out on environmental issues. But unless you count staffing a legislator as waste management, Eaton's primary qualification for his new job appears to be the fact that he would soon be out of his old one. Of course, Eaton's advancement points up a new problem Bustamante's successors will face. In an era of term limits, where are they going to find enough taxpayer-financed parking spots to meet the demand?

Late arrival. Senator Dianne Feinstein's late-January decision not to run for governor in 1998 was thought to have closed the Democratic field to all but the two men who'd already declared — Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis and Northwest Airlines executive Al Checchi. But at the eleventh hour, another hat was dropped into the ring: U.S. Representative Jane Harman (D-Marina Del Rey). The moderate three-term Democrat's entry into the race was something of a surprise. Even Harman herself even allows she hadn't even considered the run until Feinstein's withdrawal. And who was most unpleasantly surprised by Harman's announcement? House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Missouri). Harman's seat is the state's most Republican seat currently held by a Democrat. With Harman, it was likely to stay that way. Without her, well, let's just say Gephardt will have to start from scratch.

Take a memo. To the Checchi campaign: People in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. One recent "Checchi-Mail" newsletter sent out by the campaign contained the following dig at Harman: "Congresswoman Jane Harmon (sic) has one of the worst attendance records in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1995 and 1996 she was absent for one out of every ten votes." Hmmm. This is a curious critique from someone who can't remember the last statewide primary he voted in and who saw nothing wrong with skipping the odd general election or two. Don't get us wrong. Poor attendance is a legit issue. But members of Congress take literally hundreds of public policy votes over two years. Multimillionaire airline executives usually only have to take two. In the 1990s, Checchi is sitting at a better than 50 percent absence rate on those.

Corrections. Last month's article on business organizations ("Business' Big Guns", *CJ*, February, 1998) included a photo misidentifying John Doerr as president of TechNet. Doerr is the organization's co-chair. The same article also suggested the organization's political outreach had been limited to Democrats. In fact, the organization cites more than 30 separate events involving Republican lawmakers at the local, state and federal level. Last month's article on San Jose politics ("The Way to San Jose," *CJ*, February, 1998) identified San Jose as California's fourth largest city. It is, in fact, the state's third largest.

"In politics, as in high finance, duplicity is regarded as a virtue."
— Mikhail Bakunin

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Two Cents commentary

A tale of two "*Journals*"

As most of our readers know, *California Journal* has been involved in an 18-month legal struggle with the *Wall Street Journal* over the *WSJ's* attempted use of our name on a weekly section of its West Coast edition. What you may not know is that the struggle continues. From the beginning, the *WSJ's* attempt has been incomprehensible to us, for it is a scheme that the *WSJ* and its parent company, Dow Jones, would never allow to happen if anyone tried to appropriate the title of its own publication. To stop them, we have been forced to sue Dow Jones.

Thus far, the courts have sided with the real *California Journal*. In September 1996, a Sacramento Superior Court judge issued a temporary restraining order, preventing the *WSJ* from using our name on a "stand-alone" publication. That order did not address the issue of an insert, however, and for the next two Wednesdays, the *WSJ* published a five-page section under the banner "California Journal." It also promoted it with a statewide media blitz, touting the launch of "California Journal." On October 10, 1996, Sacramento Superior Court Judge Earl Warren Jr. issued a preliminary injunction, barring the *WSJ* from using our name on any publication. From that moment on, the *WSJ* has used the title "California" on its insert and referred to it as "California pages." Dow Jones also appealed Judge Warren's decision three times, and all three times was rejected — twice by the Third District Court of Appeal and once by the California Supreme Court.

But the legal struggle is far from over, for temporary and preliminary injunctions are just that — temporary and preliminary. They are issued when courts determine that the plaintiff in a case has a reasonable chance to prevail; they can give parties in a dispute the opportunity to settle up without incurring the expense of a trial. They do not finally prevent Dow Jones from taking *California Journal's* name. That issue is put to rest only after a trial results in a permanent injunction.

For the past few months, we have pursued a settlement with the hope that Dow Jones would agree, given the strong language issued by various courts in granting or upholding the preliminary injunction. But our efforts have been ignored by Dow Jones, and a trial date has been set for this coming May. Without a settlement, we have no choice but to seek a full win on the merits, including a permanent injunction, or fold our tent and allow Dow Jones to take our name.

We would like to avoid a trial, for obvious reasons. Our legal bills thus far have exceeded $150,000 and are expected to double if we go to trial. Clearly, no one will ever confuse our balance sheet with that of Dow Jones — a billion-dollar corporation. The *WSJ* probably loses more from its news racks every day than it will spend on legal fees in this case, and it seems to be forcing us to trial simply because it has the financial resources to run up the tab against a small business that it perceives cannot afford to keep pace.

Friends have suggested that they would like to participate in defending our name against Dow Jones' assault. We are grateful for these expressions of support and, realistically, we now may have to accept them. But we also feel the need to explain why we are proceeding down a track that could cost this company more than a quarter of a million dollars.

One of the arguments advanced by Dow Jones centers on the notion that it is entitled to use our name because we are so small and insignificant in comparison with the *WSJ* that no one could possibly confuse its weekly supplement with our monthly magazine.

Beyond the necessity to protect our name, this argument lies at the core of why we feel compelled to proceed. It is our view that this dispute no longer revolves around confusion alone — although confusion certainly existed in the minds of many of our readers when *WSJ* first launched its infringing "California Journal" and will return if Dow Jones is allowed to revive its use of this name.

There is a principle at stake here: Might does not make — or buy — right, and no company — regardless how grand its purse — should be allowed to traffic on a name and reputation that someone else worked long and hard to establish.

We will not walk away from this fight.

— *Jud Clark, president, State Net*

— *Tom Hoeber, founding publisher,* California Journal

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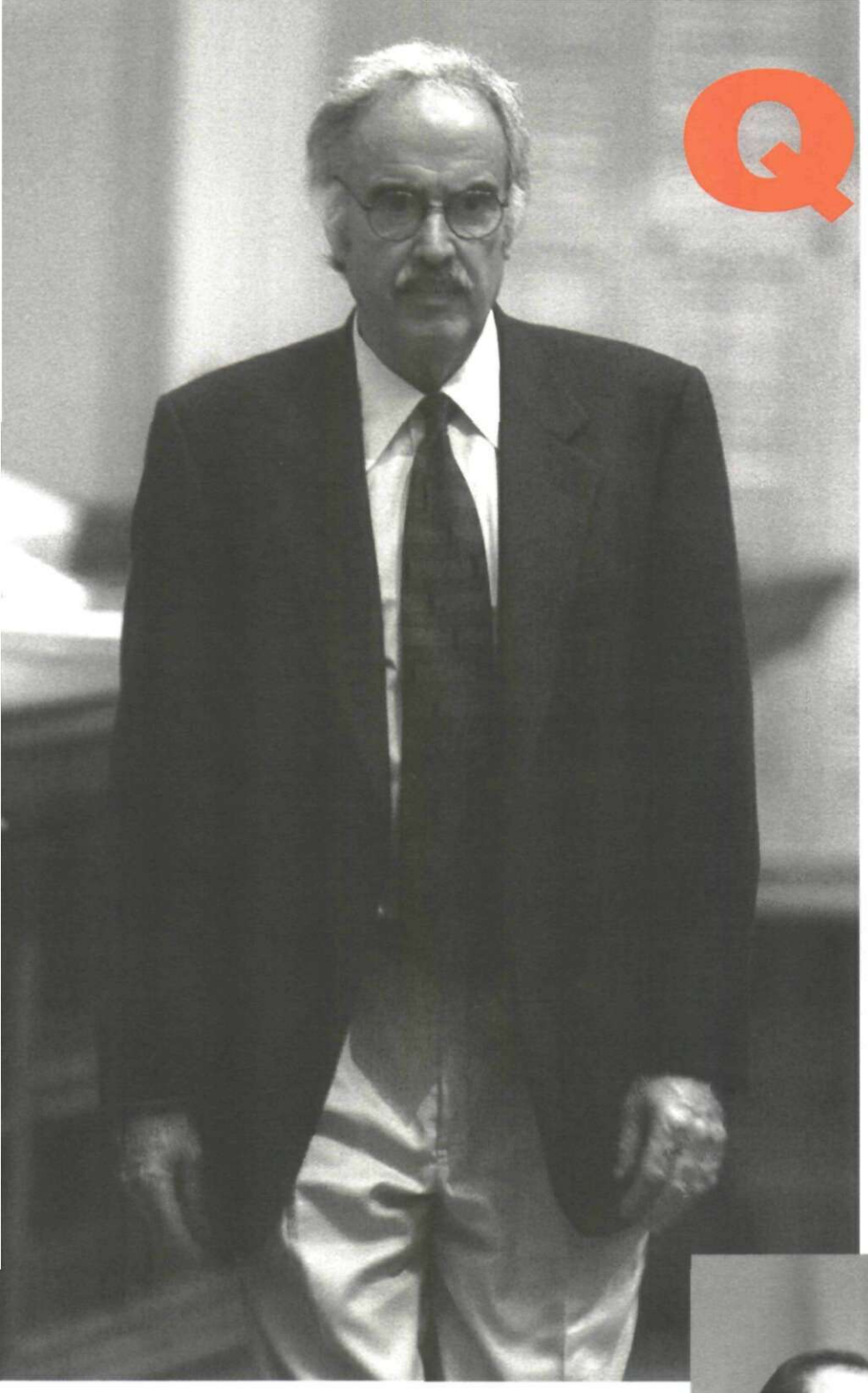
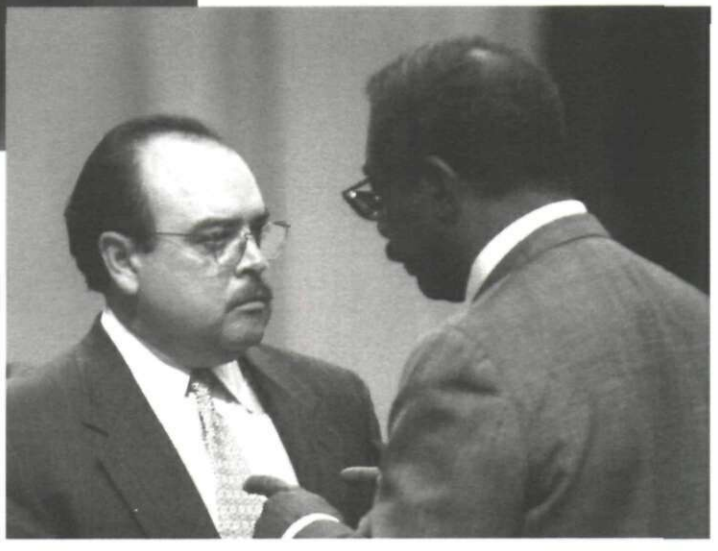


Quick

Term-limited leaders in both the Assembly and Senate pass the torch. In one case, the recipient was an up-and-coming heir apparent. In the other, it was a veteran dark horse.

by Steve Scott



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Change

On the early February day John Burton was formally elected to serve as the third state Senate president pro tempore of the 1990s, the guest list in the Senate chamber read like a "who's who" of Democratic state politics over the last quarter century. Presiding over the transition ceremony, outgoing President Pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward) ran down the list of dignitaries, giving special recognition to two former Assembly speakers in attendance, Willie Brown Jr. and Leo McCarthy.

As he proceeded with the formal resolution, Lockyer paused to correct an omission, introducing the sitting Assembly speaker, Cruz Bustamante (D-Fresno). After continuing on with the program, Lockyer was again forced to correct an oversight with the recognition of *another* former speaker, Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove).

How soon they forget.

In the era of term limits, legislative leadership, particularly in the Assembly, has become a revolving door. That revolving door took yet another spin earlier this year. In a late-January, closed-door vote in the Democratic caucus, Assembly Majority Leader Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles) won the unanimous support of his 42 Democratic colleagues to win the right to succeed Bustamante as the next Assembly speaker. The caucus vote electing Villaraigosa came less than a week after a similar closed-door polling among Senate Democrats anointed Burton as Lockyer's heir.

Apart from their liberal politics, Burton and Villaraigosa present strikingly different faces to the public and to the colleagues whom they will lead. The 65-year-old Senate leader is the war horse, an aging lion who has seen it all, both in politics and in life. Twenty years Burton's junior, Villaraigosa is the classic "young man in a hurry": talented, energetic and almost uncomfortably ambitious (see pages 10 and 11 for profiles of each leader). The new speaker is the legislative figurehead for a region (Southern California) and an ethnic community (Latinos) that sit on the cusp of the state's social and political future. Burton hails from a city (San Francisco) almost defiantly unreflective of the state as a whole, and is a liberal in an era when unreconstructed white liberals have become anachronistic even within the somewhat staid institution he leads. Yet in their paths to the top, it was Villaraigosa who came in as the anointed heir apparent, while Burton played the role of upstart surprise who confounded conventional wisdom.

The starting line, in both cases, was December's federal court decision which once and for all upheld California's

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term-limit law, Proposition 140. The ruling meant that both Lockyer and Bustamante would be "termed out" at the end of the year, mandating a leadership transition. Lockyer moved quickly, announcing within days that he would run for state attorney general and telling all the would-be successors to "go do it." At the outset, most candidate lists didn't even include Burton. Prior to the term-limits decision, Burton says it "never occurred to me" to run for the leadership post. The names most often mentioned were those of Senators Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles), Pat Johnston (D-Stockton), and Jim Costa (D-Fresno). Costa was practically a non-starter among most Democrats because of his conservative politics, and he quickly moved into the camp of Johnston, another Central Valley senator viewed as a moderate within his caucus.

As Johnston worked from the center leftward, Polanco figured to find a base among liberals and work toward the middle. But the liberals weren't buying. "I think there was a sense that Richard was more interested in personal ambition," said one Democratic lawmaker. So liberals went looking for another choice. And Burton — viewed from the outside as a laconic court jester gliding toward the end of a long and checkered political career — was suddenly interested.

"Once I decided I was going to do it, I approached it like I would any election," said Burton. His calling cards were experience (three decades-plus in elected office), a reputation as a fair-dealing straight shooter and, most important to many, a demonstrated ability to raise money to help Democrats win elections and keep their majority. Burton quickly solidified his support among liberals, and picked up crucial support from relative moderates like Deidre Alpert (D-San Diego) and Jack O'Connell (D-Santa Barbara). Polanco eventually gave up, and eventually, so did Johnston.

"John was the hare, I was the tortoise, and the hare won," quipped Johnston.

Unlike Burton, who came somewhat out of the blue, Villaraigosa was the bettor's choice to succeed Bustamante almost from the time Bustamante tapped him to be majority leader, essentially the Democrats' second in command. Initially, though, it seemed Villaraigosa's "heir apparent" status might be a hindrance. Rather than moving quickly like Lockyer, Bustamante — also termed out in 1998 — dithered over his next move and when he would step aside. "I didn't ask for a single vote until [the first week in January]," said Villaraigosa.

When the speaker finally gave his "number two" the go-ahead to start collecting votes, Villaraigosa found the field crowded with "wannabes," most prominent of whom was Assemblyman Don Perata (D-Oakland), who had held two "rookies only" sessions during the 1997 legislative interim. Villaraigosa also found some fissures within the 14-member Latino caucus, whose bloc vote in 1996 helped propel Bustamante to the speakership.

But unlike most of his would-be competitors, Villaraigosa had a plan, hatched with the help of a working group of core supporters, led by Assembly members Robert Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles), Dennis Cardoza (D-Ceres) and Kevin Shelley (D-San Francisco). Before long, most of the "competition" had melted away, but since speakership votes are strictly partisan affairs, Villaraigosa would need at least 41 of the 43 Democrats behind him. By most accounts, the first 37 votes came much more easily than the last six, but eventually, Villaraigosa won the unanimous support of his caucus and was subsequently elected speaker, although he wasn't slated to officially assume the role until the end of February.

If they are to succeed, both new leaders face institutional and political challenges in the coming year. As liberals, they will be forced to cool some of their own ideological jets in order to protect colleagues who, for political or personal reasons, are not willing to join the "true believers." One such member, Fresno's Costa, even abstained from the Senate vote ratifying Burton's leadership, citing concerns about the new pro tem's commitment to "Central Valley issues." Burton insists his history as a deal-maker renders such concern groundless. "I may want 10,000 acres set aside for park land, but if the other side only goes for 4,000, my job is to try to get it up to 4,200," he said.

Then there is the matter of dealing with a lame-duck Republican governor, Pete Wilson, with whom leaders will negotiate the budget and other legislative priorities. While Villaraigosa has relatively little history working with Wilson, Burton has long been one of the governor's most vitriolic critics. During his years in the Assembly, Burton once dismissively referred to Wilson in a floor speech as "the little Marine downstairs," and has been a boisterous — and at times lonely — critic of Wilson's conservative policies on corrections and welfare reform. Both men insist they can work cooperatively with the governor. "I've known Pete [Wilson] for a long time," said Burton. "I think we'll get along fine."

Politically, the first order of business for both leaders will be simple: stay in power. In order to protect their majorities in both houses, Democrats must hold onto several open or contested seats — difficult in any year but especially challenging in a non-presidential election year. Democratic turnout traditionally lags in such years. For Burton, the brother of the late and legendary Democratic Representative Phil Burton and close friend of even more legendary former Speaker Willie Brown, elections are almost in his blood, and while not as prolific a fund-raiser as Lockyer, supporters are confident he can keep his party competitive.

Villaraigosa faces a steeper challenge. Anticipating a fight to regain the legislative control they lost in 1996, Assembly Republicans conducted their leadership transition a year earlier, electing veteran Bill Leonard (R-Redlands) as their leader. Leonard, who moved over from the Senate in 1996, is a known commodity to GOP donors, while Villaraigosa is in the position of having to prove himself. In this area, the new speaker insists he is up to the task.

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"I was the second [most prolific] fund-raiser behind Cruz [Bustamante]," maintained Villaraigosa. "I know how the game is played."

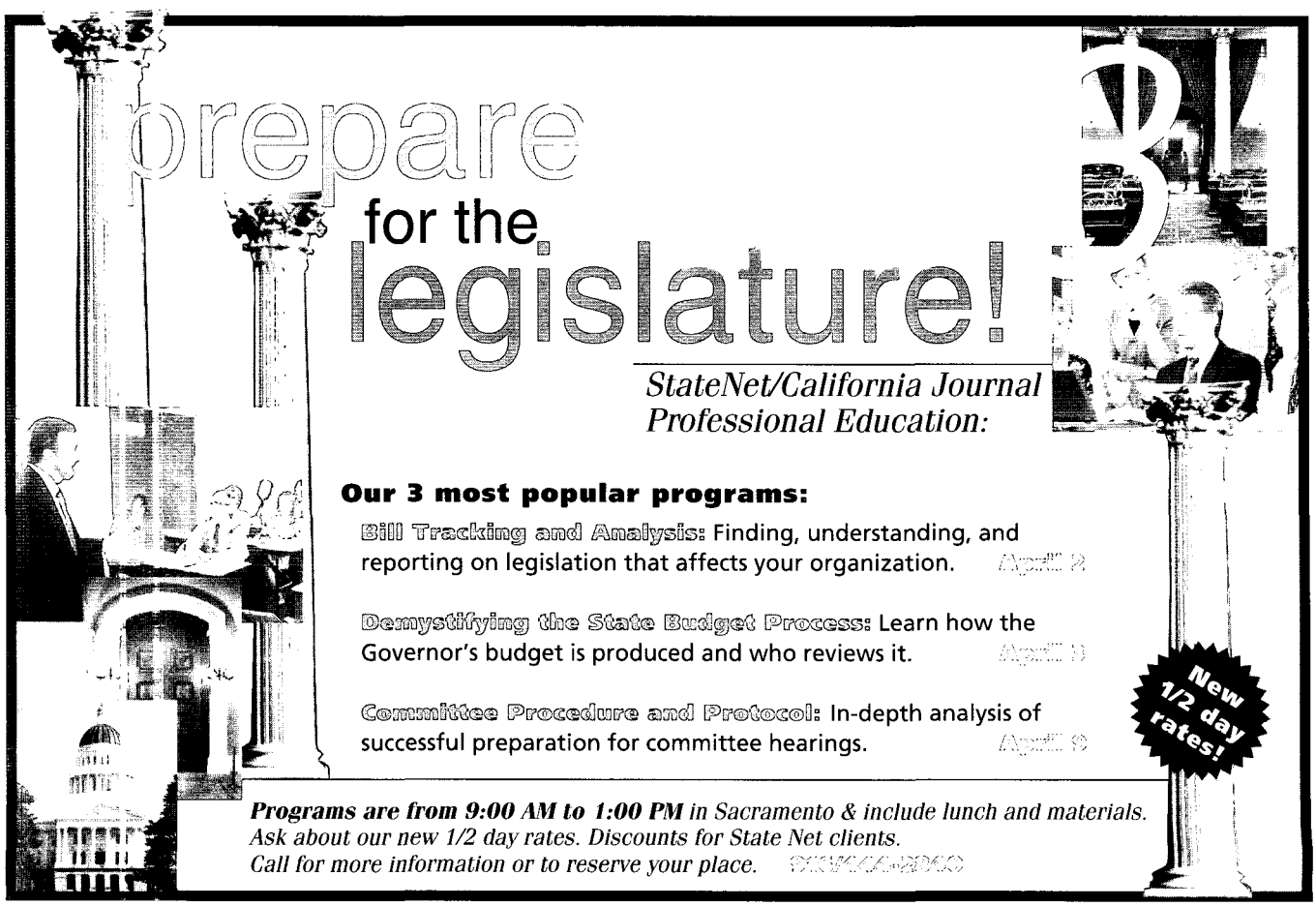
If they are able to, as Burton puts it, "get out [of 1998] alive," both Villaraigosa and Burton face some longer-term challenges as well. With the term limits an unambiguous reality, the two leaders face pressure to hold back what many see as the inevitable flow of power away from the Legislature and into the hands of the governor. Burton has expressed a desire to reduce or eliminate the "Big Five," the informal budget negotiating process that in recent years has been the conduit through which Wilson has injected his priorities into the budget process. While he concedes such a transition will be difficult with Wilson in power, Burton believes even Republicans will support a more assertive legislative role in the future. "I just think we ought to go back to the way it used to be, where the Legislature passed a budget, the governor used his [line item veto] and signed it," said Burton.

Even as they struggle to keep the Legislature relevant, they must also keep their leadership posts relevant in an era of shortened time frames and heightened ambitions. "The speakership will never be what it was like under Willie Brown," conceded Villaraigosa, referring to the power wielded by the strong-willed former speaker. Villaraigosa is expected to rely more on his varied inner circle — Hertzberg, Cardoza and Shelley as well as more seasoned hands like Assemblyman Fred Keeley (D-Monterey), formerly a long-time legislative staffer.

In the Senate, Burton has the luxury of time: Despite his long career in the Assembly and Congress, he's still a "rookie" in the Senate. If his party remains in the majority, Burton could serve as pro tem until 2004. That puts Burton in the position of guiding his party through the next legislative and congressional redistricting, slated for 2001. That also runs in the family, as Burton's brother Phillip was the recognized master at drawing district lines favorable to Democrats.

Perhaps more important for his colleagues, Burton's experience and potential longevity are likely to keep the Senate from taking too much of a back seat to the governor in the policy-making apparatus. It also means Burton will likely inherit the unofficial title held by Brown and more recently by Lockyer: the second most powerful person in state government. If the GOP retains the governor's office, that Burton — the passionate liberal disguised as a class clown — would probably become the most powerful Democrat in California.

In the words of one longtime insider, "Who'da thunk it?"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The new

Antonio Villaraigosa

Illustrations by Jonni Hill

The Assembly's new leader may have an historic opportunity to become an ethnic politician who transcends his ethnicity.

by Gregory Rodriguez

Like any successful politician, Antonio Villaraigosa is many things to many people. To his Chicano peers back in the day when he was a more militant community activist, Villaraigosa is a local boy done good who has not compromised his fierce political beliefs in his climb up the political ladder. To his Anglo Democratic colleagues who have known him since he was elected to the Assembly in 1994, he is a pragmatic idealist who can transcend ethnicity. And to his Republican adversaries, he is a straight-shooting, unreconstructed liberal who can nonetheless deal openly and fairly with his ideological opponents — a parallel view to that widely held about John Burton, the new president pro tempore of the state Senate (see story, page 6). Term limits, which restrict Assembly members to three, two-year terms, have not only paved the way for Villaraigosa's speakership, they have also

Continued on page 13

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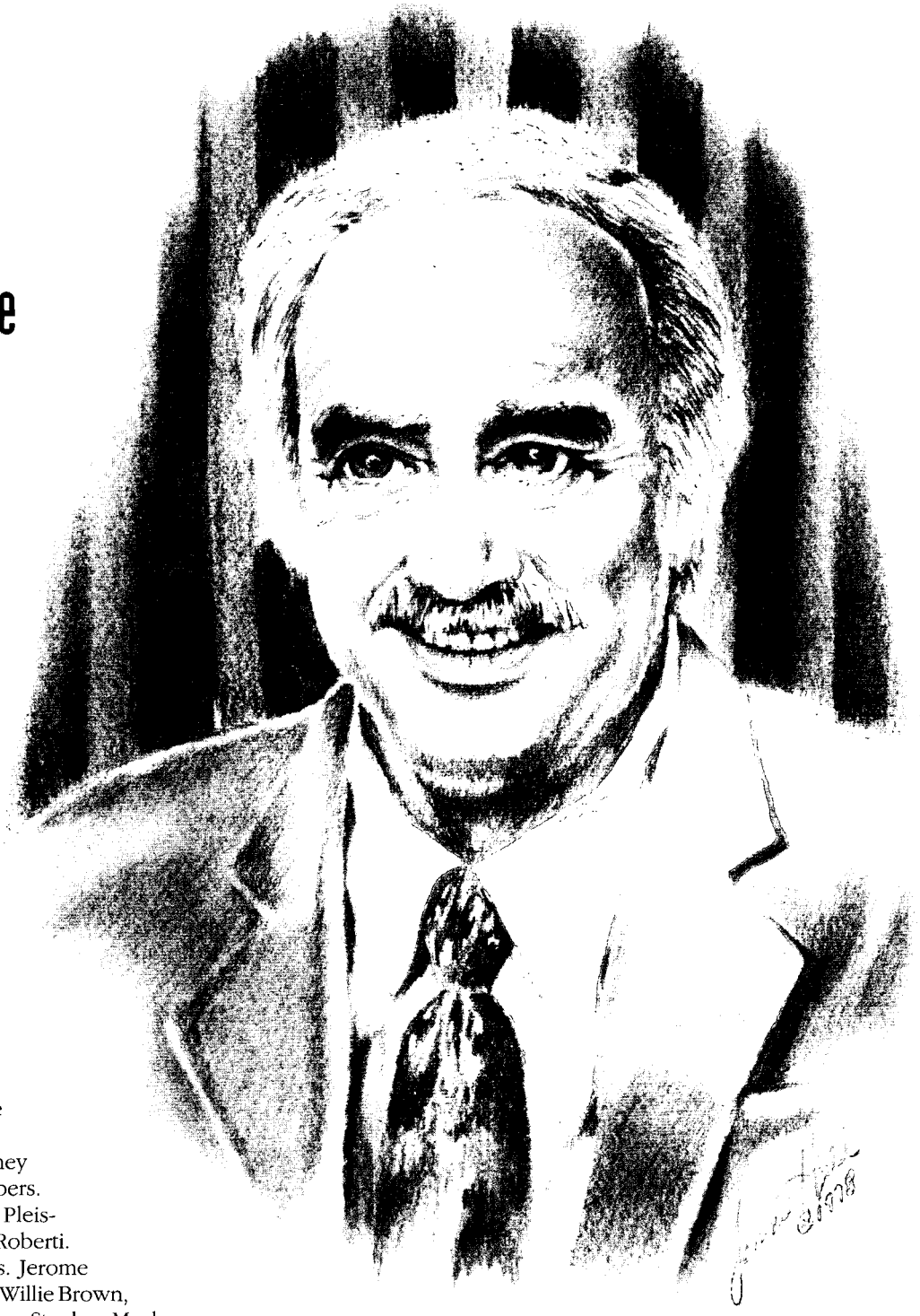
leaders

John Burton



A veteran San Francisco lawmaker, last legislative survivor of a legendary political dynasty, takes the reins of the state Senate.

by Greg Lucas

It was like the funeral of Edward VII of England just before World War I. The crowned heads of Europe — the kings, the queens, the princes, the potentates — all gathered in one place for one moment in time. It was something rare. Emotional. A spectacle that would never come again.

As sheets of rain fell outside, they gathered in the ornate state Senate chambers. Legislative legends. Politicians of the Pleistocene Epoch. Leo McCarthy. David Roberti. Ken Cory. Bill Campbell. Joe Gonsalves. Jerome Waldie. George Zenovich. John Quimby. Willie Brown, the former "ayatollah" of the Assembly. Stanley Mosk, attorney general before many of the legislative staffers attending were born and Supreme Court justice since 1964. He was there, too. Ghosts hovered near the rostrum. Hugh Burns, Bob Moretti. George Moscone. Phil Burton.

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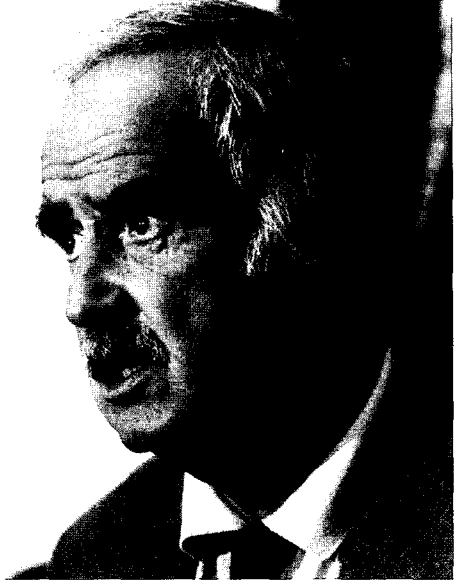

They came to witness John Lowell Burton become the new president pro tempore of the Senate, the most powerful spot in the Legislature. They came to see their fellow dinosaur seize the reins of power in an era of focus groups, here-and-gone term limits and shuck-and-jive politics. A man reared in the old school. Where everyone is Jimmy or Kenny or Nicky or Billy. Where you fight like wolverines in heat by day and, by night, get a good bipartisan heat on at an all-night poker game at the Senator Hotel.

They came to see a salty, eligible-for-Social-Security warrior of the left get his due, his redemption.

Sixteen years ago, John Burton crashed and burned. He left Congress, snow blind from a blizzard of cocaine. His life was in shambles, his bank account empty, his political career extinct. Burton says if he'd had another $10,000 left to spend on blow he would have died. But the former member of the window washers union, the former bartender at Bimbos who would get off work, smoke a joint and walk up Columbus to catch Mort Sahl at the "Hungry i" cleaned up. He clawed his way back.

"Pick yourself up, dust yourself off and start all over again," Burton said from the Senate rostrum, quoting songwriter Jerome Kern.

There was no prepared text, no Great-Moments-With-Mr.-Lincoln explication of his lofty agenda designed for media consumption. There was nothing Burton said that had much relevance to anyone outside the Senate chambers. He was real. He touched people. A little anecdote about this or that senator, Republicans and Democrats alike. At one point Burton turned to Bill Lockyer, a former protégé and his predecessor as Senate leader and said Pete Knight, a conservative Republican from Palmdale, had told him his abstention for Burton was less vehement than his abstention for Lockyer.

The bipartisan vote for Burton was 32 to zero.

"I understand and respect this institution," said Burton, who attended his first Senate session as a spectator in 1957. "I was in awe then, and I am in awe now."

Burton — the insider's insider, schooled in politics by his brilliant and driven older brother, Phil — was praised by senators of both parties for his integrity. A man of his word, they said.

"Me, when I grew up that was a given," Burton said. "I still think it should be a given."

The most obvious contrast between Burton and Lockyer is obvious. Burton is visceral; Lockyer, cerebral. "I'm a lot looser than Bill is," Burton says with vast understatement.

Burton seethes. He burns. As he put it, he means what he says and he says what he means. Everything comes from the heart — sometimes without editing. "I didn't come here to fuck the poor," he said of proposed cuts in checks to welfare recipients.

In a moving floor speech a few years ago, Burton beat back a GOP-sponsored bill in a Republican majority Assembly to criminalize crack mothers — one of the few times in recent memory when a floor speech actually swayed other lawmakers to change their vote. He spoke of his own addiction, the daily fight to beat it, the huge odds faced by someone strung out and in poverty. "You don't kick it until you die," he said. "You have two choices. Either you die clean or you die dirty."

Burton trusts people he knows. He doesn't mince words. No fools suffered, gladly or otherwise.

"He's straightforward. He carries his emotions on his sleeve. It's all right out there in front of you. If he doesn't like something, he tells you and it's over," said Senator Ken Maddy, a Fresno Republican who has known Burton since 1970.

But, if you're his friend, you're one for life. For better or worse.

A week before his formal election as Senate leader, Burton was speaking to the state executive board of the Service Employees International Union in Sacramento. He told them that he and his brother Phil owed their political careers to the backing of Local 87 of the Building Services Union. That support — at a time when no other unions would back the Burtons — helped spawn the political organization that dominated San Francisco politics for 20 years and also launched the political careers of Brown and Burton's friend since childhood, San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, gunned down at his desk in 1978.

"There's only two of us now," Burton told the leaders of the union he and his brother helped make powerful. "We will never forget. We will never forget. We will never forget."

Their way paved by Phil, Burton and Brown came to the Assembly in 1964. Their first act was to vote against then Speaker Jesse Unruh. Brown was assigned to a sleepy committee that regulated lobbyists. Burton went to the Agriculture Committee, not a coup for a legislator representing an urban district.

After eight years in the Assembly and a stint on the Rules Committee, the administrative arm responsible for the operation of the Assembly, Burton joined his brother in Congress. He conducted hearings into airline safety, helped create the Point Reyes Wilderness area, sent oodles of pork barrel back to his Marin-San Francisco district and, on a $10 dare from another congressman, made a speech on the floor in which he gestured dramatically while pretending to speak without saying a word.

When Moscone died, Burton buried himself in cocaine, booze and nitrous oxide. In his final year in Congress in 1982 he missed 75 percent of the votes.

He checked into an Arizona hospital in 1983. "I stopped 15 years ago and have not had any booze or drugs since. But it's one day at a time," he said recently.

For five years Burton practiced law in San Francisco, helping clients with problems at City Hall and earning enough money that the economic statements he files with the state show him to be a millionaire. He returned to the Assembly in 1988, again chairing the Rules committee and making friends with Republican lawmakers who loathe his politics but find him personable and fair. He carried bills to

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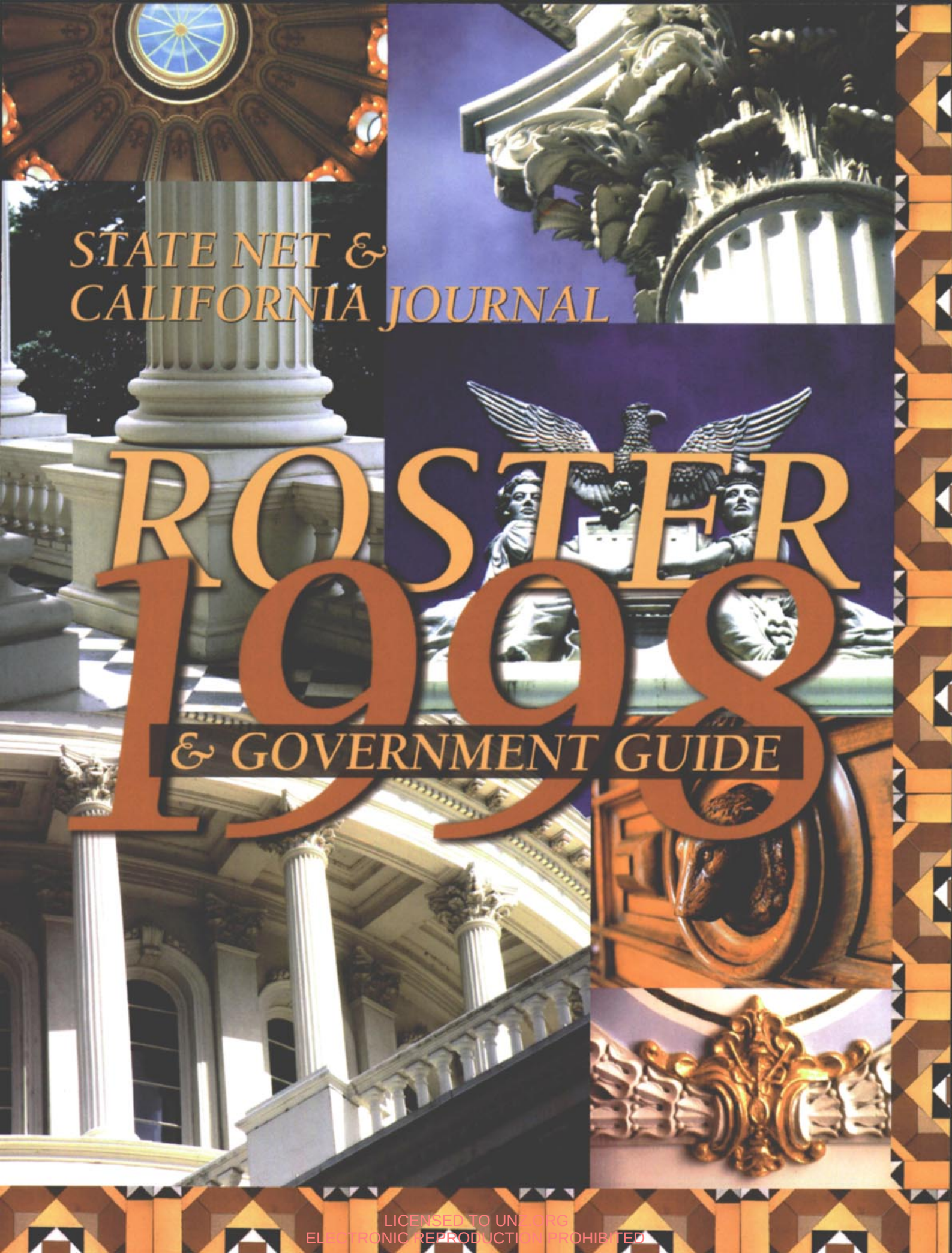

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& GOVERNMENT GUIDE

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Pack 3 Felons in a 6x8 Cell, then Watch the Lid Blow

California prisons were designed to safely house 71,000 inmates, but now hold more than twice that number — 155,000.

In five years, our prison population will swell to 214,000 inmates, according to the Department of Corrections. And to federal authorities, that's the magic number for intervention.

The public may not care if inmates are stacked like firewood, but federal courts do. In Florida and other states, federal courts have forced the release of thousands of inmates to reduce overcrowding. Not surprisingly, violent crime went up — crimes that could have been prevented if convicted felons were kept in prison.

Unless needed prison space is provided in California, thousands of hard-core felons could be set free by the courts — a public safety disaster of monstrous proportions. It's time the Legislature acted.

Privatization isn't the answer. A recent GAO report, independent studies and recent national news reports show private prisons can be more costly to operate and expose taxpayers to far greater liability than public prisons. And escapes, beatings and riots make them far more dangerous for officers, inmates and the public.

We've put together a plan to construct and operate needed state prisons without bankrupting California — so violent and habitual felons are kept off the streets at a price taxpayers can afford.

For a free copy of our plan, call Sharon Levesque at 916-372-6060.

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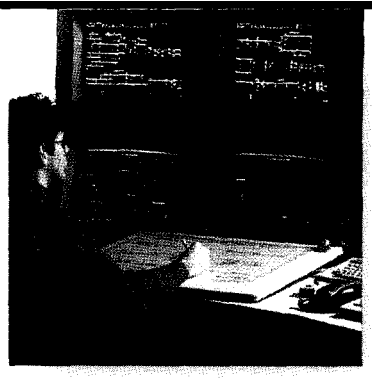

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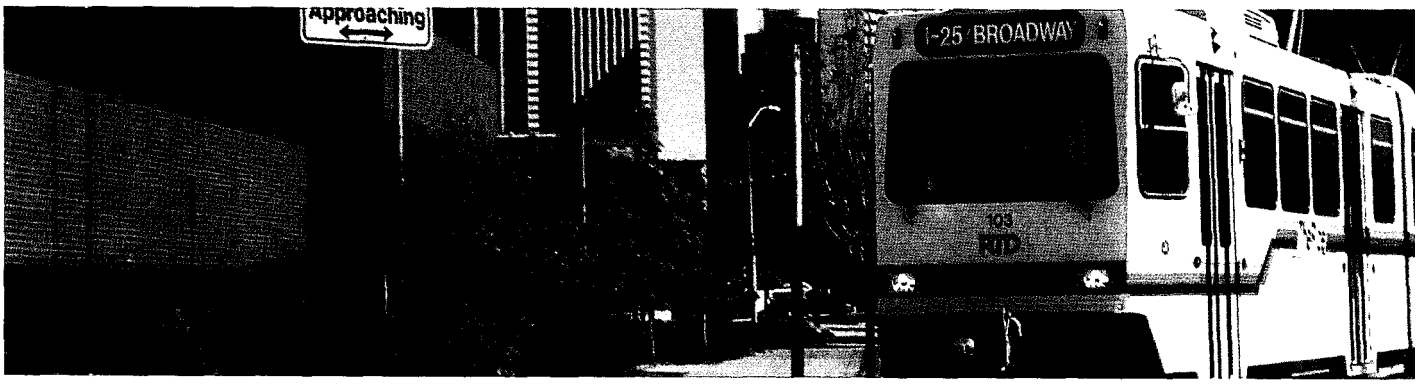

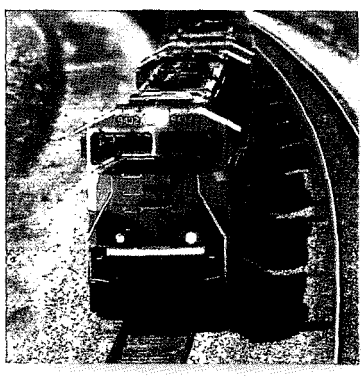

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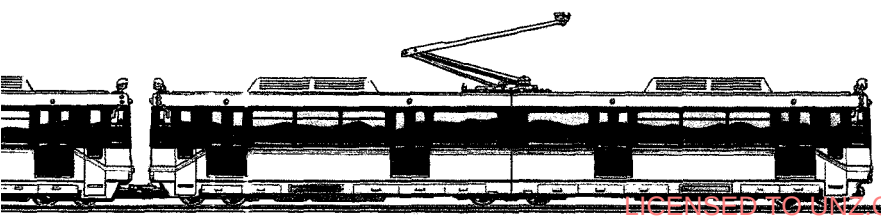

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http://www.bsc.ca.gov/bsc
1300 I St #720
Sacramento 95814 323-6363
Fax: 443-6008

Department of Consumer Affairs
Dir: Marjorie M. Berte
http://www.dca.ca.gov
2014 T St #210
Sacramento 95814 227-2873
Fax: 227-2870

Fair Employment and Housing Commission
Chair: Lydia I. Beebe
Exec & Legal Aff Secy: Steven C. Owyang
1390 Market St #410
San Francisco 94102-5377 (415) 557-2325
Fax: (415) 557-0855

State Fire Marshal
Fire Marshal: Ronny J. Coleman
http://www.saic.com/firesafe/csfm.dir.html
1416 9th St #1505
Sacramento 95814 653-7097
Fax: 653-4171

California Franchise Tax Board
Chair: Kathleen Connell
Exec Off: Gerald H. Goldberg
http://www.ftb.ca.gov
Box 1468
Sacramento 95812-1468 845-4543
Fax: 845-3191

Department of General Services
Dir: Peter G. Stamison
http://www.dgs.ca.gov
1325 J St #1910
Sacramento 95814-2928 445-4145
Fax: 323-6567

Office of the Insurance Advisor
Dir: Kevin J. Hanley
915 Capitol Mall 2nd Flr
Sacramento 95814 657-5191
Fax: 657-4983

California Museum of Science and Industry
Exec Dir: Jeffrey N. Rudolph
700 State Dr
Los Angeles 90037 (213) 744-7400
Fax: (213) 744-2034

State Personnel Board
Act Exec Off: Walter Vaughn
http://www.spb.ca.gov
801 Capitol Mall
Sacramento 95814 653-1028
Fax: 653-0927

Professional Engineers and Land Surveyors, Board of Registration for
Pres: Quang D. Vu
Exec Off: Cindi Christenson, P.E.
http://www.dca.ca.gov/pels
2535 Capitol Oaks Dr #300
Sacramento 95833 263-2222
Fax: 263-2246

Psychology, Board of
Chair: Bruce Ebert
Exec Off: Thomas O'Connor
1422 Howe Ave #22
Sacramento 95825-3200 263-2699

State Teachers Retirement System
CEO: James Mosman
7667 Folsom Blvd 3rd Flr
Sacramento 95826 229-3700
Fax: 229-3704

California Public Employees Retirement System (CalPERS)
Pres: William D. Crist
CEO: James E. Burton
http://www.calpers.ca.gov
400 P St
Sacramento 95814 326-3829
Fax: 326-3410

TRADE AND COMMERCE AGENCY

Grissom

Agency Secy: Lee Grissom
http://commerce.ca.gov/index.html
801 K St #1700
Sacramento 95814 322-1394
Fax: 323-2887

California Film Commission
Dir: Patti Stolkin Archuletta
http://commerce.ca.gov/business/select/film
7080 Hollywood Blvd #900
Hollywood 90028 (213) 860-2960
Fax: (213) 860-2972

California Division of Tourism
Dir: John Poimiroo
http://www.gocalif.ca.gov
801 K St #1600
Sacramento 95814 322-2881
Fax: 322-3402

Division of International Trade and Investment/ World Trade Commission
Act Dpty Secy: Lloyd C. Day
http://commerce.ca.gov/international
801 K St #1926
Sacramento 95814-3520 324-5511
Fax: 324-5791

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Maddock

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http://www.yaca.state.ca.us
1100 11th St #400
Sacramento 95814 323-6001
Fax: 442-2637

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Act Chair: Thomas M. Maddock
Exec Off: Thomas E. McConnell
http://www.bdcorr.ca.gov
600 Bercut Dr
Sacramento 95814 445-5073
Fax: 327-3317

Department of Corrections
Dir: Cal Terhune
http://www.cdc.state.ca.us
1515 S St
Sacramento 95814 445-7688
Fax: 322-2877

Prison Industry Board
Chair: Cal Terhune
Exec Off: Joella Fazio
560 E Natoma St
Folsom 95630-2200 358-2677
Fax: 358-1732

Prison Terms, Board of
Chair: James W. Nielsen
Exec Off: G. Lewis Chartrand Jr.
http://www.bpt.ca.gov
428 J St 6th Flr
Sacramento 95814 445-4072
Fax: 445-5242

Youth Authority
Dir: Francisco J. Alarcon
http://www.cya.ca.gov
4241 Williamsbourgh Dr
Sacramento 95823 262-1480
Fax: 262-1483

Youthful Offender Parole Board
Chair: Robert B. Presley
Exec Off: Dean Shelton
http://www.yopb.ca.gov
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The Coalition is a network of independent pro-choice organizations dedicated to pursuing the availability of a full range of reproductive health care services, including family planning, abortion, and gynecological care.

American Civil Liberties Union Center -Legislative Office
Valerie Small Navarro
1127 11th St., #534
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 442-1036
Fax (916) 442-1743
email: sac1aclu@aol.com

American College of Obstetricians & Gynecologists, CA
Charlotte Newhart
1409 Sutter Street
San Francisco, CA 94109
(415) 474-1818
Fax (415) 474-1832

California Abortion & Reproductive Rights Action League - North
Terri Thomas
1127 11th St., #905
Sacramento, Ca 95814
(916) 441-2741
Fax (916) 441-2868

California American Assoc. Of University Women
Arlene Black
909 12th St., #114
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 443-2121
Fax (916) 448-1729

CA Women Lawyers
Anita Miller, Executive Director
926 J Street, #905
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 441-3703
Fax (916) 441-5723

California Commission on the Status of Women
Vickie Atwood
1303 J. Street, #400
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 445-3173

Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice of Northern California
Berit Muh
P.O. Box 1245
San Leandro, CA 94577
(415) 674-8840
email:buritn@bigfoot.com

CA Medical Association
Joan Hall
1201 K. St., #1050
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 444-5532
Fax (916) 444-5689

CA National Organization for Women
Helen Grieco
926 J Street, #820
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 442-3414
Fax (916) 442-6942
email:canow @ canow.org

CA Nurses Association
Jill Furillo
1100 11th St., #200
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 446-5019
Fax (916) 446-6319

CA Women's & Children's Health Coalition
Shelley McEwan, Executive Director
921 11th Street, Suite 601
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 641-8474
Fax (916) 445-6331

California Commission on the Status of Women
Vickie Atwood
1303 J. Street, #400
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 445-3173

Jewish Public Affairs
Helyne Meshar
1127 11th St., #208
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 442-3520
Fax (916) 442-4616

Asian & Pacific Islanders
Yin Ling Leung
Asian Resource Center
310 Eighth Street, Ste. 100
Oakland, CA 94610
(510) 268-8988
FAX (510) 268-8181
email:apirth@igc.org

League of Women Voters of California
Trudy Schafer
926 J Street, Suite 515
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 442-9210
Fax (916) 442-7362
email:tschafer@jps.net

National Asian Women's Health Organization
Mary Chung
250 Montgomery St., #410
San Francisco, CA 94104
(415) 989-9747
Fax (415) 989-9758
email:Nawho@aol.com

National Council of Jewish Women
Harriet A. Rothenberg
1 Dana Place
Long Beach, CA 90803
(562) 439-2629
Fax (582) 439-2629

Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California
Kristy Wiese
555 Capitol Mall. Suite 510
Sacramento, CA 95814-4502
(916) 446-5247
Fax (916) 441-0632

Hadassah, Central Pacific Coast Region
Carol Velarde
Government and American Affairs Chair
5658 Laguna Quail Way
Elk Grove, CA 95758
(916) 684-4730

Greater LA Coalition for Reproductive Freedom
Lois Appleton, Representative
WHAM & SCCRF
9297 Dorrington Ave.
Arleta, CA 91331
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Fax: 324-2087

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Stockton 95219 (209) 473-6579
Fax: (209) 473-6584

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San Diego 92101-3909
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Fax: (619) 237-7229

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http://www.boe.ca.gov
15350 Sherman Wy #110
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Fax: (818) 901-5744

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Sacramento 95815 Fax: 263-3675

Aging, Commission on
Chair: John R. McCune
Exec Dir: John T. Kehoe
1020 9th St #260 322-5630
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 327-1859

Agricultural Labor Relations Board
Chair: Michael B. Stoker
Exec Secy: J. Antonio Barbosa
915 Capitol Mall 3rd Flr 653-3741
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 653-2743

Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board
Chair: Ben Davidian
Chf Cnsl: Del Haws
660 J St #443 445-4005
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 323-2760

Architectural Examiners, Board of
Pres: Raymond Cheng
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http://www.cbae.cahwnet.gov
400 R St #4000 445-3394
Sacramento 95814-6238 Fax: 445-8524

State Athletic Commission
Chair: William E. Eastman
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1424 Howe Ave #33 263-2195
Sacramento 95825-3217 Fax: 263-2197

Automotive Repair, Bureau of
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Exec Asst: Lynn Forsyth
http://www.smogcheck.ca.gov
400 R St #3000 445-7964
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 324-4298

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Exec Off: Sherry Mehl
http://www.bbs.ca.gov
400 R St #3150
Sacramento 95814-6210 445-4933

Boating and Waterways Commission
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Secy: Charles F. Raysbrook
http://www.ceres.ca.gov/boating/commission.html
1629 S St 445-6281
Sacramento 95814-7291 Fax: 327-7250

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Chan: Barry Munitz
http://www.calstate.edu
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Long Beach 90802-4275 Fax: (562) 985-2504

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Chair: Sharon Ufberg, D.C.
Exec Dir: M. Elizabeth Ware
2710-N Gateway Oaks #100 263-5355
Sacramento 95833-3505 Fax: 263-5369

Community Colleges, Chancellor's Office
Chan: Tom Nussbaum
1107 9th St 445-8752
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 323-9478

Contractors State License Board
Chair: Douglas Barnhart
Registrar: Dr. C. Lance Barnett
http://www.cslb.ca.gov
9835 Goethe Rd 255-3900
Sacramento 95827 Fax: 255-4054

Control, State Board of
Chair: Peter G. Stamison
Exec Dir: Darlene Ayers-Johnson
http://www.boc.cahwnet.gov
630 K St 327-0849
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 327-2933

Court Reporters, Board of California
Chair: John Hilbert
Exec Off: Rick Black
2535 Capitol Oaks Dr #230 263-3660
Sacramento 95833 Fax: 263-3664

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Exec Off: Georgetta Coleman
1432 Howe Ave #85 263-2300
Sacramento 95825-3241 Fax: 263-2140

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Chair: Gala Argent
Exec Dir: Judy McDonald
2000 O St #100 322-8481
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 443-4957

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Exec Dir: Bill Lucia
http://goldmine.cde.ca.gov/board/boardhome.html
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Sacramento 95814 Fax: 653-7016

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400 R St #3040 445-4752
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 327-5594

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Chair: William J. Keese
Exec Dir: Stephen Rhoads
http://www.energy.ca.gov/energy
1516 9th St 654-5000
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 654-4420

California Exposition and State Fair
Chair: Tom O'Neil
Gen Mgr: Norbert J. Bartosik
http://www.bigfun.org
1600 Exposition Blvd 263-3247
Sacramento 95815 Fax: 263-3304

Fair Political Practices Commission
Chair: James M. Hall
Exec Dir: Robert Tribe
http://infra1.dgs.ca.gov/fppc
428 J St 322-5901
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 327-2026

Fire Services, State Board of
Chair: Ronny J. Coleman
Exec Off: Steve Hart
1131 S St 653-7097
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 445-8509

Fish and Game Commission
Pres: Douglas B. McGeoghegan
Exec Dir: Robert R. Treanor
http://www.dfg.ca.gov/mtgsnew.html
1416 9th St Box 944209 653-4899
Sacramento 94244 Fax: 653-5040

Food and Agriculture, State Board of
Pres: John H. Kautz
Exec Dir: Kevin Herglotz
http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/programs/leadership/sbfa.html
1220 N St #409 654-0562
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 654-0403

California Forest Products Commission
Chair: Rick Swift
Pres: Donn Zea
http://www.calforests.org
2150 River Plaza Dr #270 568-1141
Sacramento 95833 Fax: 568-1144

Geologists and Geophysicists, Board of Registration for
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Exec Off: Dalton Pollard
http://www.dca.ca.gov/geology
2535 Capitol Oaks Dr 300A 263-2113
Sacramento 95833 Fax: 263-2099

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Exec Off: Pat Urena
830 K St #208 445-9041
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 323-7240

Horse Racing Board
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Exec Dir: Roy C. Wood, Jr.
http://www.chrb.ca.gov
1010 Hurley Wy #300 263-6000
Sacramento 95825 Fax: 263-6042

Department of Information Technology
Chf Information Off: Thomas Flynn
http://www.doit.ca.gov
801 K St #2100 445-5900
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 445-6524

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400 R St #4000 445-4954
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State Library
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Exec Dir: Byron Chell
1300 I St #1040 324-2726
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 324-5597

Medical Board of California
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Exec Dir: Ron Joseph
1426 Howe Ave #54 263-2499
Sacramento 95825 Fax: 263-2487

Native American Heritage Commission
Chair: William Mungary
Exec Secy: Larry Myers
915 Capitol Mall #364 653-4082
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 657-5390

New Motor Vehicle Board
Pres: Daniel M. Livingston
Exec Secy/Chf Admin Law Judge: Sam W. Jennings
1507 21st St #330 445-1888
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 323-1632

Nursing Home Administrators, Board of
Chair: Dr. Orrin S. Cook
Exec Off: Kim Smith
1420 Howe Ave #2 263-2685
Sacramento 95825-3227 Fax: 263-2008

Optometry, Board of
Pres: Robert W. Dager, OD
Exec Off: Karen L. Ollinger
http://www.jps.net/optometry
400 R St #1070
Sacramento 95814-6200 323-8720

Osteopathic Medical Board of California
Pres: Richard Bond, DO
Exec Dir: Linda J. Bergmann
2720 Gateway Oaks Dr #350 263-3100
Sacramento 95833 Fax: 263-3117

Park and Recreation Commission
Chair: Ian Campbell
http://www.ceres.ca.gov/parks
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Sacramento 95814 Fax: 653-1819

Pharmacy, Board of
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Exec Off: Patricia F. Harris
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Sacramento 95814 Fax: 327-6308

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Exec Off: Jim Rathlesberger
1420 Howe Ave #8 263-2647
Sacramento 95825-3229 Fax: 263-2651

Postsecondary Education Commission
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Exec Dir: Warren Halsey Fox
http://www.cpec.ca.gov
1303 J St #500 445-7933
Sacramento 95814-2938 Fax: 327-4417

Prison Industry Authority
Gen Mgr: David King
560 E Natoma St 358-2696
Folsom 95630-2200 Fax: 358-2659

Public Employment Relations Board
Chair: David M. Caffrey
Chf Administrative Officer: Eileen Potter
1031 18th St 322-3198
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 327-7955

Office of Public School Construction
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Exec Off: Ted W. Dutton
http://www.dgs.ca.gov/opsc
1130 K St 4th Flr
Sacramento 95814 445-3377

Public Utilities Commission
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Exec Dir: Wesley M. Franklin
http://www.cpuc.ca.gov
505 Van Ness Ave (415) 703-2782
San Francisco 94102 Fax: (415) 703-1758

Reclamation Board
Pres: Frank Dal Gallo
Gen Mgr: Peter D. Rabbon
http://wwwdwr.water.ca.gov/dir-organizations/ORGReclam_Board.html
1416 9th St #1601 653-5434
Sacramento 95814-5509 Fax: 653-5805

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400 R St #4030 322-3350
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 327-4402

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Exec Dir: Richard McCarthy
http://www.seismic.ca.gov
1900 K St #100 322-4917
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 322-9476

State Govt Org. & Economy (Little Hoover Cmsn.), Milton Marks Cmsn. on
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Exec Dir: Jeannine English
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Sacramento 95814 Fax: 322-7709

State Lands Commission
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Sacramento 95825-8202 Fax: 574-1810

Status of Women, Commission on the
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1303 J St #400 445-3173
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 322-9466

Student Aid Commission
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Exec Dir: Dr. Jon D. Shaver
http://www.csac.ca.gov
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Rancho Cordova 94741-8029 Fax: 526-8029

Teacher Credentialing, Commission on
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Exec Dir: Sam W. Swofford
http://www.ctc.ca.gov
1812 9th St 445-0184
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 445-0800

Transportation Commission
Chair: Edward G. Jordan
Exec Dir: Robert I. Remen
http://www.dot.ca.gov/CTC
1120 N St MS-52 654-4245
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 653-2134

Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board
Chair: Louis W. Barnett
Exec Dir: C. David Willis
2400 Venture Oaks #300 263-6783
Sacramento 95833 Fax: 263-6836

University of California
Pres: Richard C. Atkinson
http://www.ucop.edu
300 Lakeside Dr (510) 987-0700
Oakland 94612-3550 Fax: (510) 987-0328

Water Commission, California
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Exec Off: Raymond Barsch
1416 9th St #1148 653-5958
Sacramento 95814 Fax: 653-9745

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Secy/Dpty Comm: Dennis Hannigan
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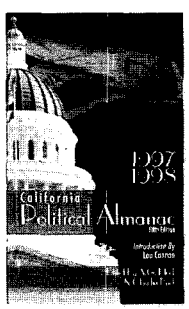

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Elected: 1992
Hart Bldg #112 224-3553
Fax: (415) 956-6701
senator@boxer.senate.gov
AA: Karen Olick
1700 Montgomery St #240
San Francisco 94111
(415) 403-0100
Fax: (415) 956-6701
COS: Sam Champman

Dianne Feinstein (D)

Dianne Feinstein (D)
Elected: 1992
Hart Bldg #331 224-3841
Fax: 228-3954
senator@feinstein.senate.gov
AA: Mike McGill
525 Market St #3670
San Francisco 94105
(415) 536-6868
Fax: (415) 536-6841
State Dir: Bill Chandler

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Xavier Becerra (D-30)
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Longworth Bldg #1119 225-6235
Fax: 225-2202
AA: Krista Atteberry
1910 Sunset Blvd #560
Los Angeles 90026
(213) 483-1425
Fax: (213) 483-1429
COS: Henry Lozano

Howard L. Berman (D-26)
Elected: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2330 225-4695
Fax: 225-5279
COS: Gene Smith
13200 Sepulveda Blvd #300
Mission Hills 91345
(818) 891-0543
Fax: (818) 830-1990
AA: Tom Waldman

Brian P. Bilbray (R-49)
Elected: 1994
Longworth Bldg #1530 225-2040
Fax: 225-2948
brian.bilbray@hr.house.gov
COS: John Woodard
1011 Camino Del Rio S #330
San Diego 92108
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Dist Adm: Wilmer Carter

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Fax: (909) 784-5255
Dist Dir: Sue Miller

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(408) 371-7337
Fax: (408) 371-7925
Dist Dir: Casey Beyer

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Fax: (209) 527-5748
COS: Michael Lynch

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District Rep: Greg Haskin

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Elected: 1990
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613 W Valley Parkway #320
Escondido 92025
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Dist Dir: Kathy Stafford

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Elected: 1978
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AA: Patricia Miller

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Hanford 93230
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Dist Dir: Donna Blitzer

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Fax: (530) 666-3413
Dist Dir: Val Dolcini

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Fax: 225-9073
Leg Dir: Richard Patrick
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Chula Vista 91910
(619) 422-5963
Fax: (619) 422-7290
Dist Dir: Gwen Robins

Elton Gallegly (R-23)
Elected: 1986
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Fax: 225-1100
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Oxnard 93030
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Fax: (805) 983-3922
Dist Dir: Paula Sheil

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Fax: (310) 787-8425
Dist Dir: Doane Liu

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Elected: 1986
Rayburn Bldg #2433 225-3076
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Chico 95973
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Fax: (530) 893-8619
Dist Dir: Fran Peace

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Dist COS: Wendell Cutting

Jay C. Kim (R-41)
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COS: Matt Reynolds
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Ontario 91762
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Dist Dir: Peter Stevens

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AA: Robert King
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Fax: (650) 375-8270
Dist Rep: Evelyn Szelenyi

Jerry Lewis (R-40)
Elected: 1978
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Fax: 225-6498
COS: Arlene Willis
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Dist Dir: Mavis Toscano

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Fax: (626) 458-2241
Off Mgr: Sally Martinez

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Dist Dir: Anne Valenti

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Fax: (415) 861-1670
Dist Dir: Fred Ross

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Stockton 95207
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Dist Dir: Elizabeth Diaz

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Fax: (714) 621-0401
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Fax: (818) 999-2287
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Fax: (805) 631-9535
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Hurtt

(Addresses and staff assignments, current as of February 3, 1998, are subject to change.)

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Term Limit: 2002
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Fax: 445-0413
COS: Bill Chavez
300 S Spring St #8710
Los Angeles 90013
(213) 620-2529
Fax: (213) 617-0077
AA: Bill Mabie

Bruce McPherson (R-15)
Elected: 1996
Term Limit: 2004
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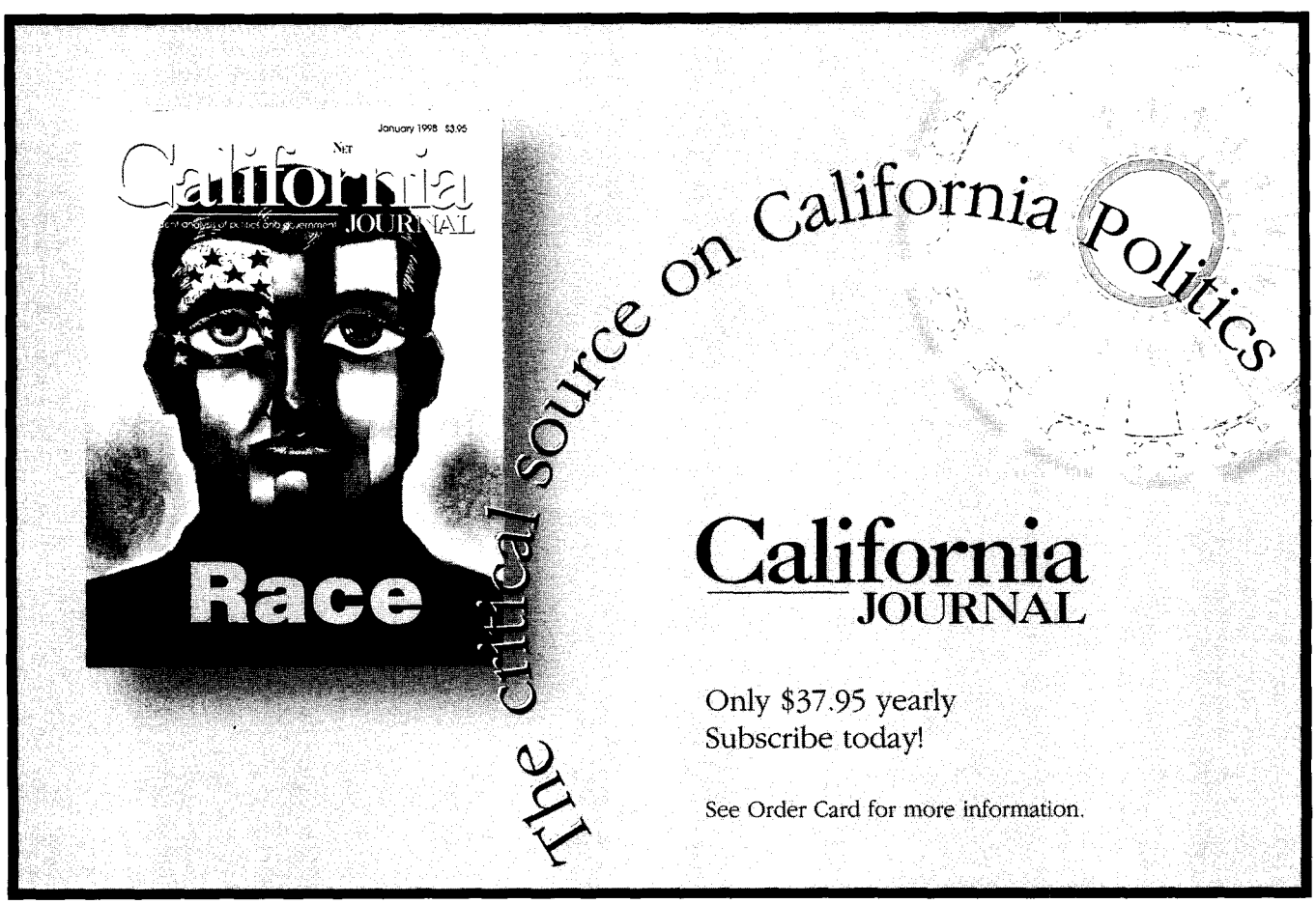
Fax: 445-8081
senator.mcpherson@sen.ca.gov
COS: Scott Sadler
701 Ocean St #318-A
Santa Cruz 95060 (408) 454-3108
Fax: (408) 425-5124
Field Rep: Michael Warren

Jack O'Connell (D-18)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Bldg #5035 445-5405
Fax: 322-3304
senator.oconnell@sen.ca.gov
COS: Gavin Payne
228 W Carrillo St #F
Santa Barbara 93101
(805) 966-2296
Fax: (805) 966-3707
AA: Carla Frisk

Richard K. Rainey (R-7)
Elected: 1996
Term Limit: 2004
Capitol Bldg #4090 445-6083
Fax: 445-2527
senator.rainey@sen.ca.gov
COS: Diane Longshore
1948 Mt Diablo Blvd
Walnut Creek 94596
(510) 280-0276
Fax: (510) 280-0299
Dist Coord: Cynthia Hughes



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Elected: 1982
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Bldg #4070 445-7928
Fax: Will not disclose
senator.rosenthal@sen.ca.gov
Leg Cnslt: Dan Flynn
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Van Nuys 91401 (818) 901-5588
Fax: (818) 901-5562
COS: Lynnette Stevens

Adam Schiff (D-21)
Elected: 1996
Term Limit: 2004
Capitol Bldg #4032 445-5976
Fax: 324-7543
senator.schiff@sen.ca.gov
COS: Tim Shelley
35 S Raymond Ave #205
Pasadena 91105 (626) 683-0282
Fax: (626) 793-5803
Dist Coord: Ann Peifer

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Elected: 1996
Term Limit: 2004
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Fax: (650) 364-2102
AA: Betsy Shotwell

Hilda L. Solis (D-24)
Elected: 1994
Term Limit: 2002
Capitol Bldg #4039 445-1418
Fax: 445-0485
COS: Dolores Duran
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El Monte 91731 (626) 448-1271
Fax: (626) 448-8062
Dist COS: Liza Villasenor

Mike Thompson (D-2)
Elected: 1990
Term Limit: 1998
Capitol Bldg #3056 445-3375
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senator.thompson@sen.ca.gov
COS: Ed Matovcik
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Fax: (707) 224-1992
Field Rep: Kathy Hayes

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Term Limit: 2004
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Field Rep: Karna Carlson

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Elected: 1978
Term Limit: 1998
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Fax: (213) 295-0910
Chf Dpty: Charles B. Stewart

Cathie Wright (R-19)
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Term Limit: 2000
Capitol Bldg #4052 445-8873
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senator.wright@sen.ca.gov
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2345 Erringer Rd #212
Simi Valley 93065 (805) 522-2920
Fax: (805) 522-1194
Dist Coord: Janelle Smith

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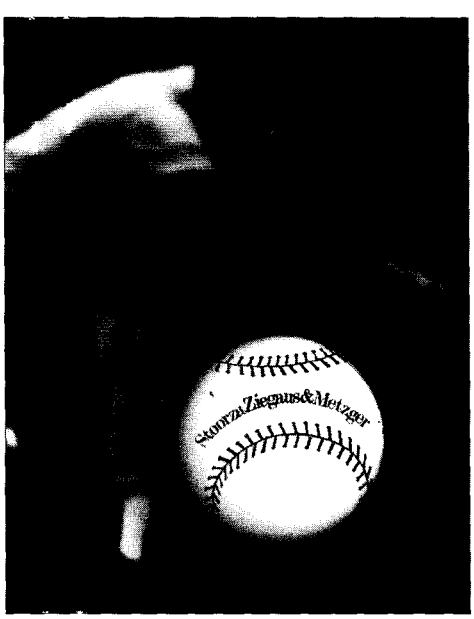

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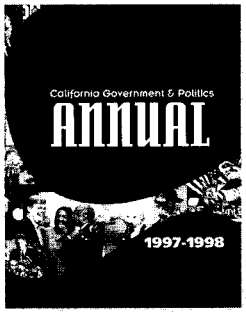

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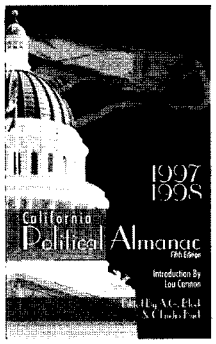

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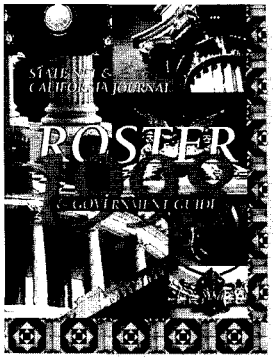

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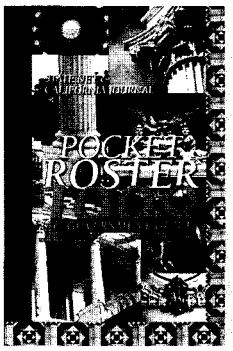

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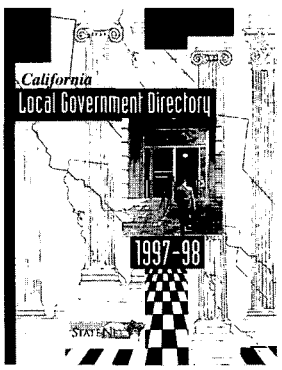

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Democrats: Johnston, Peace, Thompson M
Republicans: Craven, Johannessen, Kelley, Monteith, Wright C
Independent: Kopp
Cnslt: Dan Webb
Cnslt: Linda Adams
Cmte Asst: Pamela Otto
Capitol Building #2031 445-2206
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/ag_water/profile.htm
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 9:30 AM, Rm 112

Appropriations
Chair: Patrick Johnston (D)
Vice Chair: Tim Leslie (R)
Democrats: Alpert, Burton, Calderon, Dills, Karnette, Lee, Vasconcellos
Republicans: Johnson, Kelley, McPherson, Mountjoy
Staff Dir: Karen K. French
Prnc Cnslt: Ed Dermann
Cmte Asst: Paula Santusky
Cmte Asst: Diana Takata
Capitol Building #2206 445-3284
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/approp/profile.htm
Meets: Mon, 9:30 AM, Rm 4203

Budget and Fiscal Review
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Vice Chair: Cathie Wright (R)
Democrats: Costa, O'Connell, Peace, Polanco, Schiff, Sher, Solis, Watson
Republicans: Brulte, Hurtt, Maddy
Independents: Kopp
Staff Dir: Steven J. Larson
Dpty Staff Dir: John Griffing
Cmte Asst: Rose Morris
Capitol Building #5013 445-5202
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/bfr/_home/homepage.htm
Meets: Thur, 8:00 AM, Rm 4203

Business and Professions
Chair: Richard Polanco (D)
Vice Chair: K. Maurice Johannessen (R)
Democrats: Ayala, Greene, Lee, O'Connell, Rosenthal
Republicans: Craven, Kelley
Staff Dir: David Peters
Prnc Cnslt: Jay DeFurio
Cmte Asst: Karri Velasquez
Capitol Building #2193 445-3435
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/business/profile.htm
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 3191

Constitutional Amendments
Chair: David G. Kelley (R)
Vice Chair: Ralph C. Dills (D)
Democrats: O'Connell, Sher
Republican: Rainey
Cnslt: Jeffrey Volberg
Cmte Asst: Kathy Sullivan
Capitol Building #405 445-2802
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/constitution/profile.htm
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 112

Education
Chair: Leroy F. Greene (D)
Vice Chair: Bruce McPherson (R)
Democrats: Alpert, Dills, Hayden, Hughes, O'Connell, Sher, Vasconcellos, Watson
Republicans: Haynes, Knight, Monteith
Chf Cnslt: *Scott Plotkin*
Cmte Asst: Sandy Malosh
Capitol Building #2083 445-2522
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/education/profile.htm
Meets: Wed, 9:30 AM, Rm 4203

Elections and Reapportionment
Chair: Betty Karnette (D)
Vice Chair: William A. Craven (R)
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Republican: Lewis
Cnslt: Darren P. Chesin
Cnslt: Larry Sokol
Cmte Asst: Frances Tibon-Estoista
Capitol Building #5046 445-2601
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/er/profile.htm
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:30 AM, Rm 3191

Energy, Utilities and Communications
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Cnslt: John Rozsa
Cmte Asst: Sharon Jennings
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http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/euc/profile.htm
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 1:30 PM, Rm 112

Environmental Quality
Chair: Byron D. Sher (D)
Vice Chair: Cathie Wright (R)
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Republicans: McPherson, Rainey
Cnslt: Kip Lipper
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http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/env_qual/profile.htm
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Finance, Investment & International Trade
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Vice Chair: Hilda L. Solis (D)
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Republicans: Brulte, Johannessen, Johnson
Independent: Kopp
Cnslt: Kathleen Finnigan
Cmte Asst: Chinook Shin
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Governmental Organization
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Republicans: Knight, Lewis
Staff Dir: Stephen M. Hardy
Prnc Cnslt: Arthur Terzakis
Cmte Asst: Billie Williams
Capitol Building #5048 445-1193
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/go/profile.htm
Meets: Tues, 9:30 AM, Rm 3191

Health and Human Services
Chair: Diane E. Watson (D)
Vice Chair: John Vasconcellos (D)
Democrats: Hughes, Polanco, Solis, Thompson M
Republicans: Haynes, Maddy, Mountjoy
Staff Dir: John Miller
Cnslt/Cmte Asst: Geri La Duke
Capitol Building #2191 445-5965
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/health/_home/homepage.htm
Meets: Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 4203

Housing and Land Use
Chair: Barbara Lee (D)
Vice Chair: Dick Monteith (R)
Democrats: Costa, Vasconcellos
Independent: Kopp
Cnslt: Peter Detwiler
Cnslt: Howard Yee
Cmte Asst: Pam Gibbs
Capitol Building #407 445-8740
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/housing/_home/homepage.htm
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 3191

Industrial Relations
Chair: Hilda L. Solis (D)
Vice Chair: Richard L. Mountjoy (R)
Democrats: Karnette, Lee, Rosenthal
Republicans: Hurtt, Johnson
Chf Cnslt: Patrick W. Henning
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Cmte Asst: Rosa M. Castanos
Capitol Building #4039 445-1237
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/ir/profile.htm
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 9:30 AM, Rm 2040

Insurance
Chair: Herschel Rosenthal (D)
Vice Chair: Ross Johnson (R)
Democrats: Hughes, Johnston, Peace, Schiff, Sher
Republicans: Leslie, Lewis
Staff Dir: Michael Shapiro
Capitol Building #2035 445-0825
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/insurance/profile.htm
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 112

Judiciary
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Vice Chair: Tim Leslie (R)
Democrats: Calderon, Lee, Lockyer, O'Connell, Sher
Republicans: Haynes, Wright C
Chf Cnsl: Gene W. Wong
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Republicans: Maddy, Wright C
Chf Cnsl: Ann Bailey
Cmte Asst: Jeanie Myers
Capitol Building #B-31 324-6929
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/ethics/profile.htm
Meets: Thurs, AM

Local Government
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Vice Chair: Ruben S. Ayala (D)
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Cnslt: April Manatt
Cmte Asst: Jane Leonard Brown
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http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/loc_gov/_home/homepage.htm
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Republicans: Johannessen, Leslie, Monteith
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http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/nrw/profile.htm
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Public Employment and Retirement
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Republicans: Haynes, Hurtt
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Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 2040

Public Safety
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http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/psafety/profile.htm
Meets: Tues, 9:30 AM, Rm 4203

Revenue and Taxation
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Republicans: Hurtt, Knight, McPherson
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Meets: Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 113

Transportation
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Capitol Building #2053 445-3182
http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/committee/standing/transportation/profile.htm
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 1:30 PM, Rm 112

Veterans Affairs
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Vice Chair: William Knight (R)
Democrats: Ayala, Dills, Thompson M
Cnslt: David Grafft
Cmte Asst: Irma Belmontes-Boreman
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Democratic Whip ..... Michael Sweeney
Republican Whip ..... George Runner
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Term Limit: 2000
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COS Wendy Lee

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COS Scott Reid

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Term Limit: 1998
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Term Limit: 2000
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Dist Dir: Christian Nelson

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Term Limit: 2004
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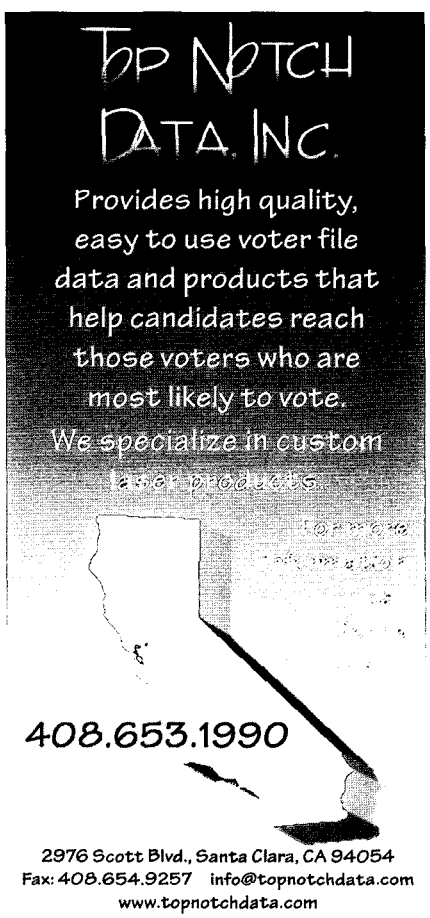
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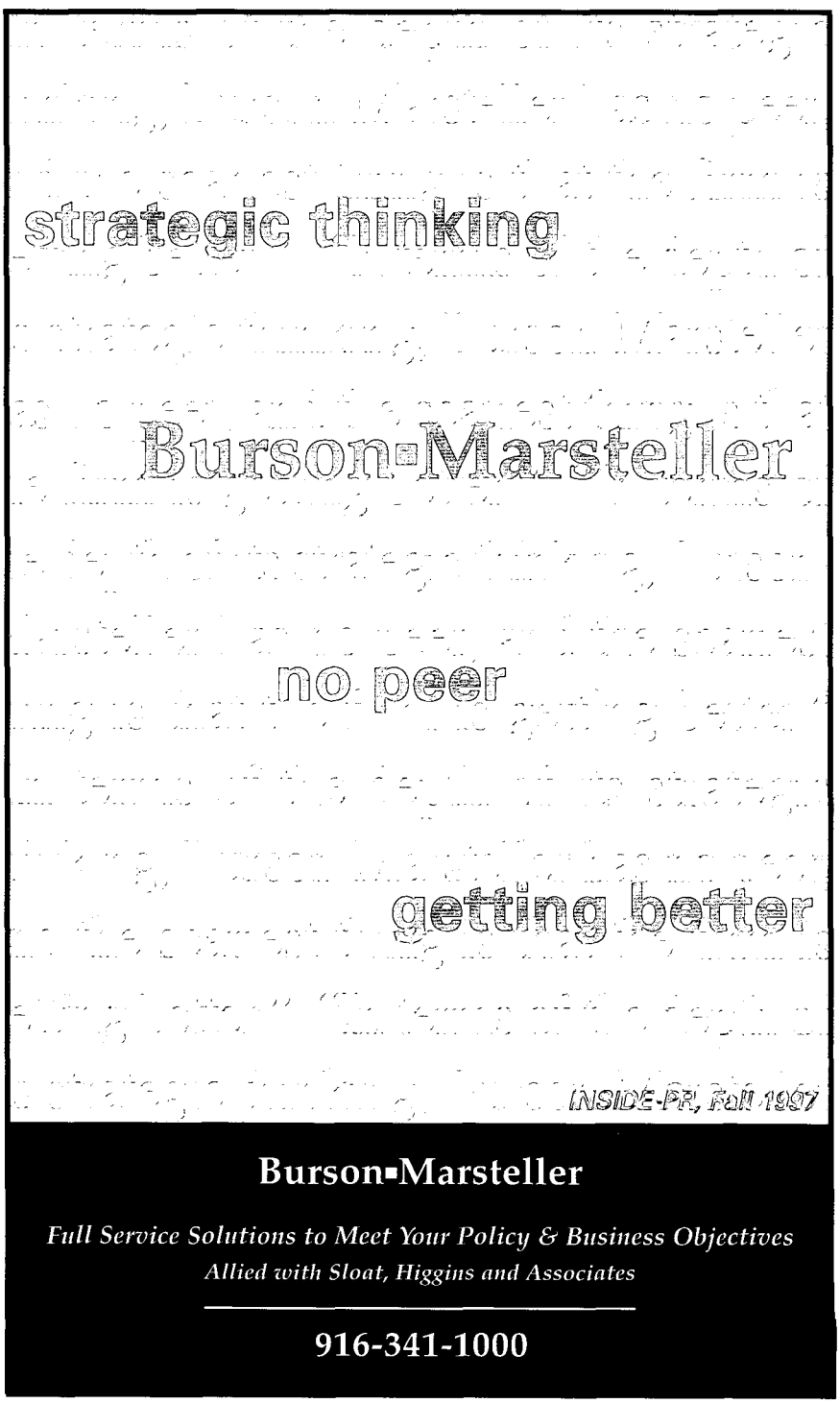

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CALIFORNIA LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

INITIAL STEPS BY AUTHOR

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read first time. Referred to policy committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

ACTION IN HOUSE OF ORIGIN

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study. Committee actions are reported to the floor. Bills with any fiscal implications, if approved by policy committee, are re-referred to Appropriations Committee.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read the second time on the floor and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate on a subsequent day.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read the third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and most appropriations measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

ACTION IN SECOND HOUSE

READING

Bill is read the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are nearly identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent back to house of origin for enrollment, then to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

RESOLUTION OF TWO-HOUSE DIFFERENCES (IF NECESSARY)

CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE

If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise (conference report), both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If the conferees fail to agree, or if either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee may be formed.

THE GOVERNOR

SIGN OR VETO?

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor may sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. Bill is sent to Secretary of State's office and given a chapter number. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override. Urgency measures may become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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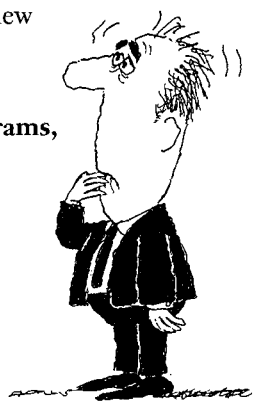

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LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

1998

Jan. 1 Statutes take effect.

Jan. 5 Legislature reconvenes.

Jan. 10 Budget must be submitted by governor on or before this date.

Jan. 16 Last day for policy committees to hear and report tofiscal committees fiscal bills introduced in their house in 1997. Last day to submit bill requests to the Office of Legislative Counsel.

Jan. 22 Last day for a legislative measure to qualify for the primary election (June 2) ballot.

Jan. 23 Last day for any committee to hear and report to the Floor bills introduced in their house in 1997.

Jan. 31 Last day for each house to pass bills introduced in 1997 in their house.

Feb. 20 Last day for bills to be introduced.

Apr. 2 Easter Recess begins at end of this day's session.

Apr. 13 Legislature reconvenes.

Apr. 24 Last day for policy committees to hear and report to fiscal committees fiscal bills introduced in their house.

May 8 Last day for policy comittees to report non-fiscal bills introduced in their house to Floor.

May 15 Last day for policy committees to meet prior to June 1.

May 22 Last day for fiscal committees to hear and report to the Floor bills introduced in their house. Last day for fiscal committees to meet prior to June 1.

May 29 Last day for bills to be passed out of the house of origin.

June 1 Committee meetings may resume.

June 15 Budget must be passed by midnight.

June 25 Last day for legislative measure to qualify for the general election (Nov. 3) ballot.

July 3 Last day for policy committees to meet and report bills. Summer recess begins at the end of this day's session if budget bill has been enacted.

Aug. 3 Legislature reconvenes.

Aug. 14 Last day for fiscal committees to meet and report bills to floor.

Aug. 17-31 Floor Session only. No committees, other than conference committees, may meet for any purpose.

Aug. 31 Last day for each house to pass bills. Final recess begins at end of this day's session.

Sept. 30 Last day for governor to sign or veto bills passed by the Legislature after Sept. 1.

Oct. 2 Bills enacted on or before this date take effect on Jan. 1, 1999.

Nov. 30 Adjournment sine die at midnight.

Dec. 7 1999-2000 Legislative Session convenes at noon.

1999

Jan. 1 Statutes take effect.

Jan. 4 Legislature reconvenes.

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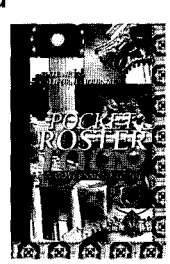

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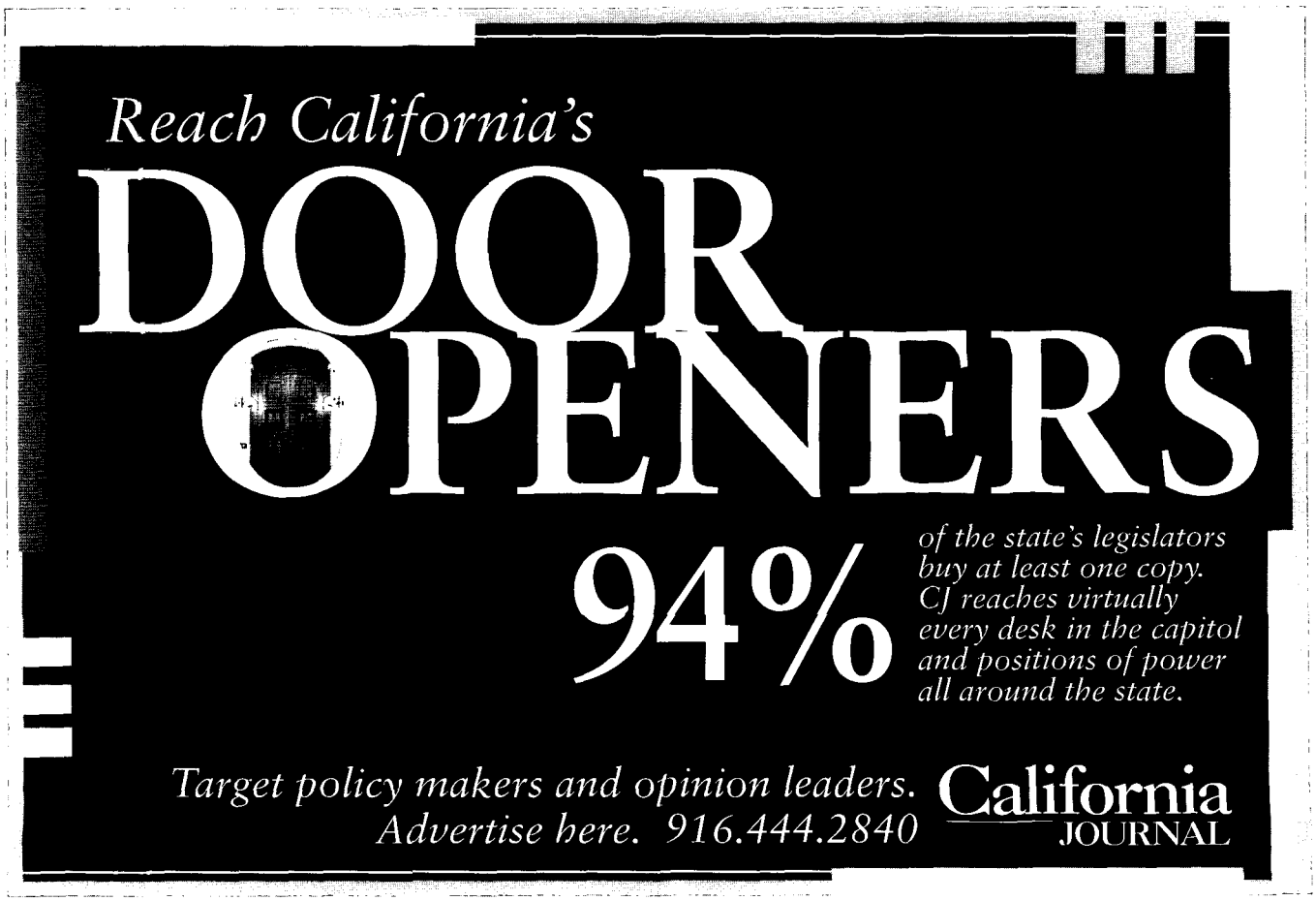
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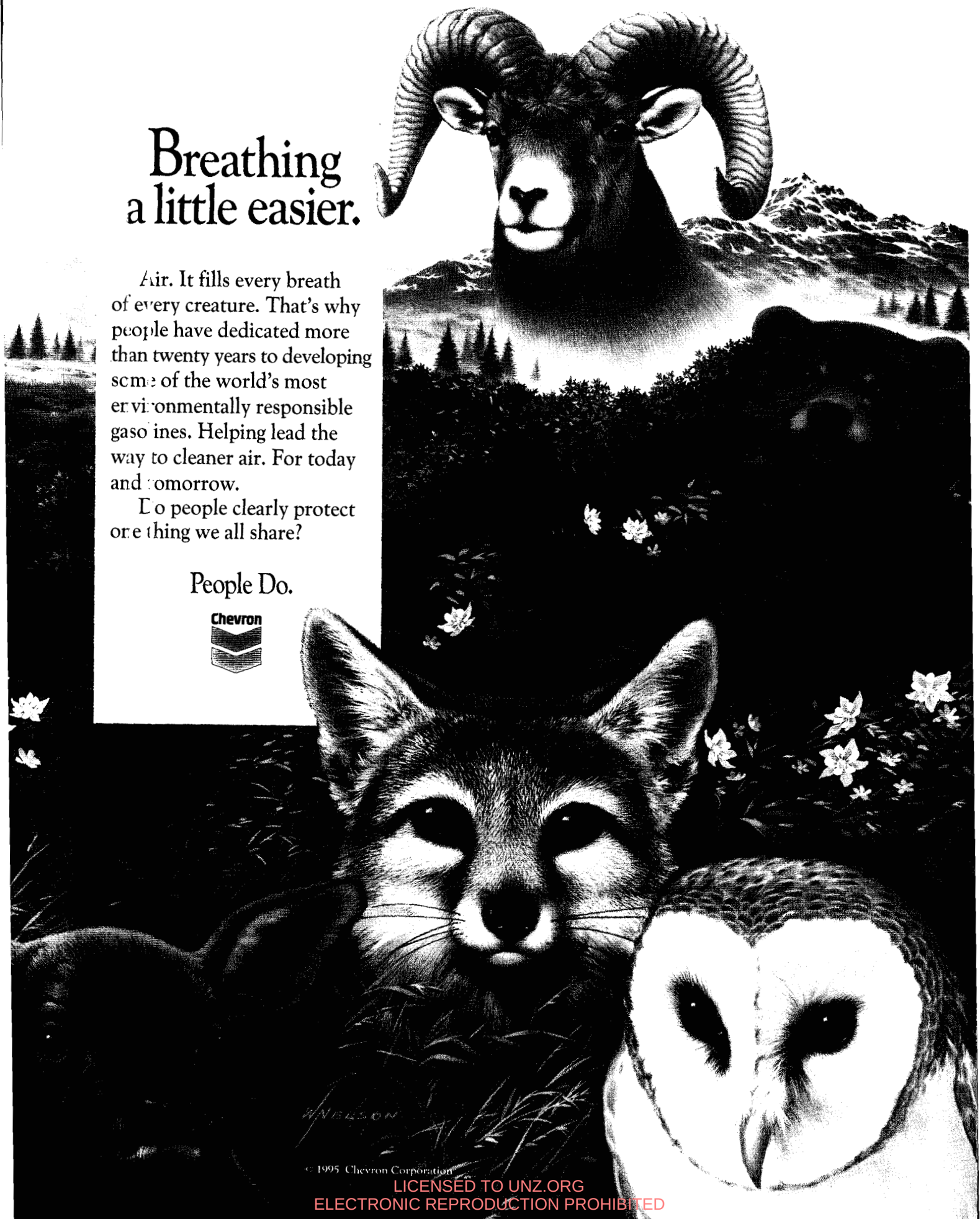

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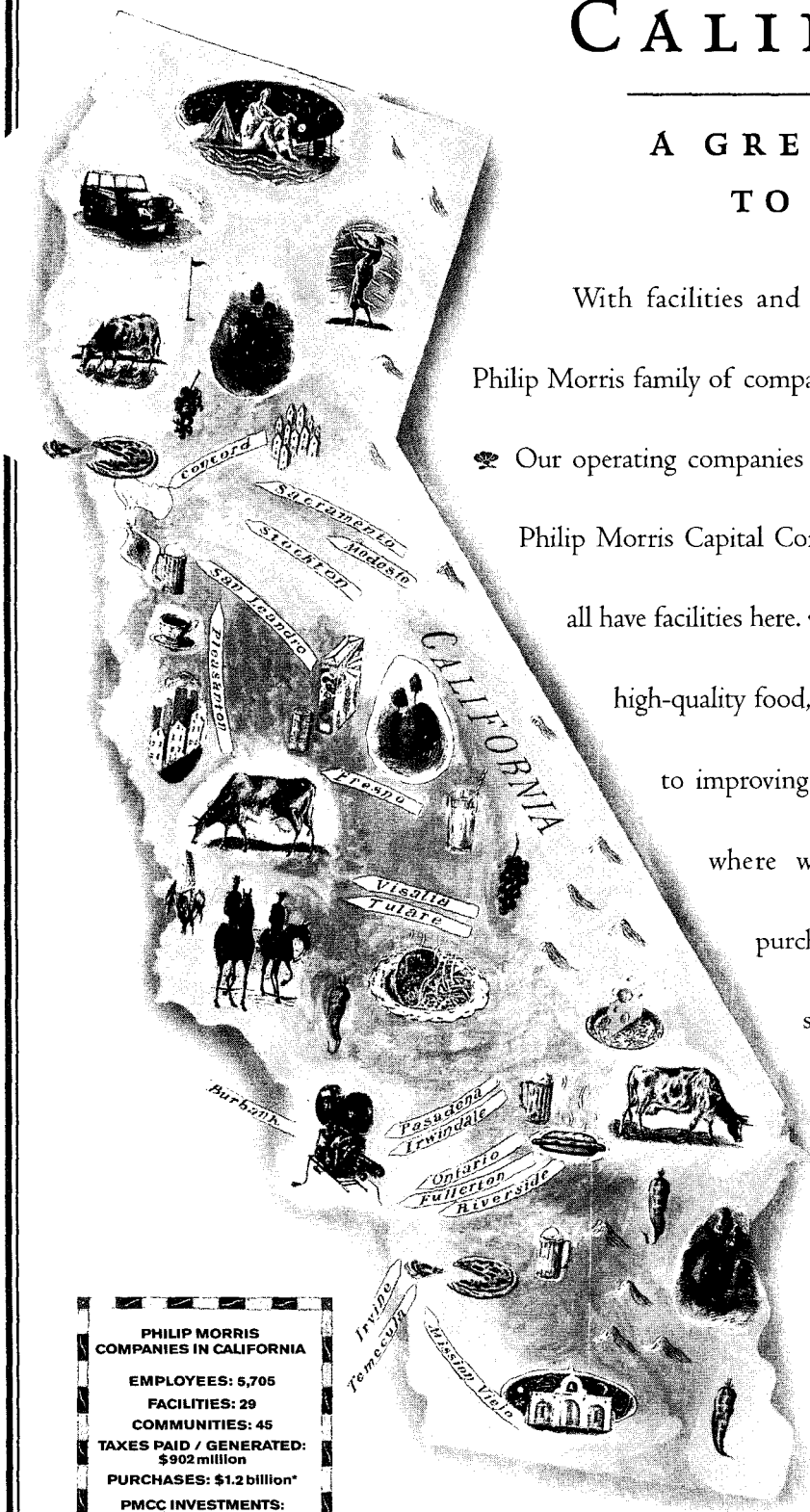

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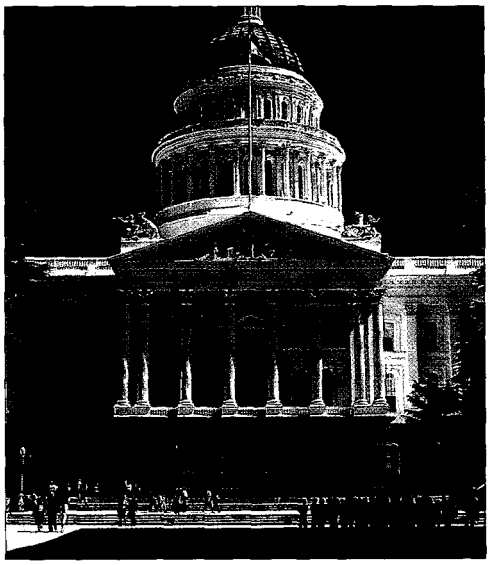

March, 1996: California enacted the toughest emission standards in the world. Partly because ARCO's reformulated gasoline proved they were possible.

Back in the late 80's the California state government agencies had a pretty good idea what they wanted to do to reduce air pollution: ban the use of gasoline in favor of alternative fuels and enact the toughest pollution standards the world had ever seen. But they hesitated, because no one was really sure if alternative fuels would work or what the cost might be. Meanwhile, ARCO was hard at work on a new kind of gasoline called EC-1, the world's lowest emission gasoline ever.

Arco's new formula showed how to reduce pollution from gasoline, while maintaining its performance.

EC-1 was so effective at reducing pollution, especially with pre-catalytic cars, it actually removed 100 million pounds of pollutants from the skies of California the first year it was in use.

But even more important, it showed California and the federal government that significant emission reductions could be achieved using conventional fuels thereby saving motorists millions of dollars they didn't have to spend replacing their existing cars.

ARCO, working with the California Air Resources Board and other stakeholders, helped to develop the model for the second generation of reformulated gasoline which is now used by every driver in California.

The impact on our air has been nothing less than remarkable.

Thanks to California's cleaner burning gasoline, more than 3 million pounds of pollutants a day are being eliminated. About the same as taking 3.5 million cars off the road.

According to independent scientists, the air is the cleanest it's been in decades. In 1977, the South Coast Basin had 121 Stage I Smog Alerts. In 1997, they were reduced to only one.

Of course, there's a long way to go before we reach our clean air goals. In 1996, despite the 57% reduction in days exceeding the federal clean air standards for ozone, the South Coast Basin still experienced 90 days over the federal standard.

121 Stage I Smog Alerts.	*1 Stage I Smog Alert.*
208 days over federal ozone standard.	*90* days over federal ozone standard.*

Source: South Coast AQMD. *For 1996

But ARCO and other oil companies have proven that they can work together with the state, local air districts, auto manufacturers, environmentalists and other stakeholders to achieve the toughest air quality standards in the world.

Another reformulation that ARCO helped make happen.

Success is in the air.

Californians For Clean Air Progress

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help pawnbrokers, bar pilots, end horse-tripping at Mexican rodeos and used his seat on the Public Safety Committee to water down or block passage of legislation opposed by the criminal defense bar. He even spoofed the Republican social agenda by introducing a bill to make poverty a crime.

In 1996, Burton was elected to the Senate, nearly 30 years after he first tried to get there, losing to then Republican Milton Marks. He was the largest single contributor to Lockyer's campaign account that year, pouring $290,000 into Senate Democratic election efforts. He became the chair of the Judiciary Committee. The stodgy Senate was initially wary of Burton's deportment. There was one scary Democratic caucus where his new Senate colleagues got their first taste of a profanity-laced eruption of Burton's temper.

He wasn't going to run for pro tem, at first urging Patrick Johnston, a Stockton Democrat, to run for it. But initially Johnston said he did not want the job. Then, other senators came to Burton and urged him to run. Johnston later changed his mind and decided he wanted the job after all.

"It was the first time I ever ran against someone I liked," Burton said at his swearing-in.

Burton pursued the job with single-minded intensity, going from one Democratic senator's office to another like a pollinating bee on speed. And on February 5th, as Burton waited for his former boss, Stanley Mosk to give him the oath of office, Johnston praised the old San Francisco State guard.

"He came to play," Johnston said. "He finger-rolled a few votes. He forced a couple of turnovers. Uncharacteristically, he had no technical fouls. I thought I was viable in the fourth quarter but in the end John Burton wanted it more."

Then Johnston tossed Burton a basketball.

Burton spun it on the end of his index finger.

Just like an old pro.

Greg Lucas is a Capitol correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

Antonio Villaraigosa *Continued from page 10*

reconfigured the job's qualifications to fit him perfectly. While depth of knowledge and experience may once have been prerequisites for what was once the second-most powerful political position in the state, today the post requires a quick-learning lawmaker able to grow into and with the position.

Elected little more than three years ago, Villaraigosa, who represents an ethnically and socioeconomically diverse district near downtown Los Angeles, was still learning the rules of the Assembly when he became majority leader early in 1997. Indeed, most people who have commented on Villaraigosa's meteoric rise to power also have marveled at his simultaneous political and personal growth over the past few years.

Close observers of Villaraigosa's career point to his three-and-a-half year stint on Los Angeles' Metropolitan Transit Authority board as a crucial learning experience for the 45-year-old legislator. Villaraigosa sat on the MTA and its predecessor board from 1990 to 1994. "At the MTA, Antonio had to look for more practical expressions of his idealism," says John Perez, a high-ranking official for the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and Villaraigosa's first cousin.

Before the start of his professional political career, Villaraigosa had been a union organizer and a "progressive" activist involved in a variety of liberal causes. In 1993, he served as president of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California. The assemblyman credits his work at the ACLU with imbuing in him a healthy respect for "the battle of ideas" and differences of opinion. Referring obliquely to the heady days of 1970s activism on behalf of farm workers and civil rights Villaraigosa describes his own ideological growth as a process of getting older. "As a campus progressive, I couldn't see the gray," he says. "But now I can."

Even Villaraigosa's name evokes the art of compromise. Born Antonio Villar in January 1953, Villaraigosa merged his last name with that of his wife — Corina Raigosa — to form a new name.The couple has two children: Antonio, who is eight, and Natalia, who is four. Vallaraigosa also has two older children from a previous relationship — Marisela, 22, and Prisila, 19.

Villaraigosa's intellectual nimbleness has afforded him a reputation of being "sharp as a tack," "shrewd" and "street smart." But he is not known for his breadth of learning or intellectual stature. Perhaps his greatest talent lies in his interpersonal skills and a remarkable ability to forge bonds with a wide variety of people. The assemblyman's charm, outgoing personality, and even his good looks have played a key role in his political success. "I'm not someone who needs to get on the floor and speak," he says. "I'd rather walk around and talk, touch and hold people in the room."

The combination of amiability and shrewdness has distinguished Villaraigosa's political career from the moment he first won office. In 1994, just after defeating a candidate backed by state Senator Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles), the head of the state Latino Legislative Caucus, Villaraigosa reached out to Polanco to erase any bad feeling the campaign may have engendered between them. While at least one critic has criticized Villaraigosa's willingness to forgive and forget as a sign of weakness, the freshly elected assemblyman was undoubtedly wise not to head off to Sacramento with an enemy like Polanco, a friend of then Speaker Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco). This episode is emblematic of the way Villaraigosa works. In this instance, he wanted to break through what he saw as the parochial vision of Latino politics as well as to make room for himself. "There's a whole state out there," he says. "There's room for everybody."

But, of course, Villaraigosa's role as a conciliator is not limited to his dealings with Latinos. In becoming speaker, his ability to put together 43 Democratic votes in a remarkably short time and in such a competitive environment speaks to his considerable talent for building coalitions across many lines. In fact, the role for which he may be best suited is that of ethnic conciliator in a state that has grown weary of racially divisive politics. While never denying his ethnic base nor forgetting to credit the pioneering Latino politicians whose footsteps he has followed and surpassed, Villaraigosa has

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been wary since the day he was elected to the Assembly of being pigeonholed as merely a Latino politician.

Los Angeles County Supervisor Zev Yaroslovsky, who is Jewish, is among many colleagues who see Villaraigosa as the consummate inter-ethnic coalition builder. But whereas political scientists and elected officials usually see ethnic coalition building as a process of "building bridges" between leaders of monolithic groups, Villaraigosa seems to understand the more fluid nature of race and ethnicity in America's most diverse state. While he doesn't articulate it very well, he understands that there is no inherent distinction between being a Latino speaker and a California leader mindful of the needs of a wildly heterogeneous state. Indeed, Villaraigosa's election and term as speaker may wind up doing for California and Latinos what the venerable Al Smith did for Irish Americans and New York. When Al Smith became speaker of the New York State Assembly and then, later, governor of the Empire State, he eradicated the absurd distinction between Irish-Americans and Americans. Like Smith, Villaraigosa's very presence is likely to prove not only that a distinct ethnic group has become American, but that they are America.

When Assemblyman Cruz Bustamante (D-Fresno) was elected speaker 14 months ago, he was heralded as the first Latino to ever hold the most powerful post in the Legislature's lower house. An emergent and united Latino Caucus was credited for putting the Central Valley lawmaker over the top. There also was a sense that it was time for a Latino to be speaker. Villaraigosa's election, on the other hand, has been spun quite differently. Sure, he is the second Latino speaker, but more important, he is being seen as the first Angeleno to hold the post since Bob Moretti was speaker from 1971 to 1974. And while both Bustamante and Villaraigosa ultimately had to secure the same number of votes from Latinos and non-Latinos alike, Villaraigosa is generally perceived as having a wider spectrum of support behind him.

Polanco sees the non-ethnically based election of Villaraigosa as speaker as one more sign of the political maturity of Latino leadership. "It's a testament to the role Latinos play in California politics. It's proof that we're cross-over candidates," he says.

Villaraigosa's election also has been greeted by a good many "urban log cabin" stories about how the speaker grew up poor in a female-headed household, dropped out of high school and ultimately graduated from college and law school. Villaraigosa was raised by his mother after his father, an abusive alcoholic, left the family when Antonio was five years old. Villaraigosa is the eldest of four children, and all of them have gone on to achieve professional success — testimony to the support and hard work of his mother. One sister, Mary Lou, 44, is an attorney. A second sister, Deborah, 40, runs a community health program. Brother Rob, 35, is a money manager. The assemblyman did indeed drop out of high school in the 11th grade, but only briefly. He eventually graduated from Roosevelt High in the Boyle Heights section of Los Angeles and went on to graduate from UCLA.

His experiences as a child and the trajectory of his life are probably more responsible for what he calls his "opportunity agenda" than his ideological awakening in college and in the labor movement. He is a strong believer in activist government precisely because he feels it worked for him and says that inclusive government policies and programs helped make him who he is today. In his role as speaker of the Assembly, he hopes to restore in people the confidence that government can work for them, too.

But while Villaraigosa can be expected to continue championing his personal agenda of prodding government to provide greater opportunity to children and working people, he is acutely aware of the politically moderate nature of the California electorate. "This is a diverse state, where the vital center is moderate, and I'm going to have to respect that," he told the *Los Angeles Times*. In balancing his personal "progressivism" and the state's overall centrism, he demonstrates the same agility with which he straddles the hypen between his ethnicity and his Americanness.

Like Willie Brown, Villaraigosa is a liberal lawmaker adept at the art of deal-making. Avowedly pragmatic, Villaraigosa is not blinded by ideology or identity. And more significant than any specific legislative agenda, the new speaker brings with him a sensibility of upward mobility and the need to "re-energize the California Dream." In addition to personifying what government can do, Villaraigosa has the ability to remind Californians of the people for whom government can and should work for most.

The success of his tenure as speaker depends to a great extent on whether he can avert the tendency among many other well-intentioned liberals who reach the pinnacle of their careers only to create yet one more exclusive good-old-boy network that serves its own interests. While many who know him well doubt whether Antonio Villaraigosa could ever lose his purpose or center, there are some who worry that there may be a high price to pay for spreading himself too thinly. With only three years of experience and many coalition partners to appease, the new speaker's greatest challenge may be to find competent advisers to help keep the Assembly running smoothly and to parcel out his campaign war chest prudently.

Villaraigosa has the versatile and transcendent political qualities that could serve California well at this critical point in its history. As the Golden State enters an era in which all ethnic and racial groups will be minorities, California needs officials who can provide leadership that stresses commonality without denying the many distinctions among the residents of this state. If the Democrats can hold on to their Assembly majority and the new speaker serves three successful years in office, Villaraigosa may very well be seen one day as a historical necessity.

Gregory Rodriguez is associate editor of Pacific News Service and a research fellow at the Pepperdine Institute for Public Policy.

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Delaine Eastin

Running for re-election as state superintendent of schools, the outspoken former legislator may really have her eye on the governorship

By Sigrid Bathen

Illustrations by Norm Hines

Meetings of the California State Board of Education have not traditionally been crowd-pleasers, generally attracting the same insider assemblage of bureaucrats and school officials for hour after tedious hour of the two-day monthly gatherings. Appointed by Governor Pete Wilson, many board members are former educators, some "rewarded" for their political fealty, almost all Republicans. Increasingly, they have as much or more power over the schools than the elected state superintendent of public instruction, Delaine Eastin, who does not always attend their meetings and often disagrees with them when she does.

Until recently, when the sorry state of California's schools was rapidly becoming a major political embarrassment, nobody paid much attention to the board's monthly gatherings, and much of what it decided occurred in a public vacuum, rarely observed outside the educational establishment or covered by the news media.

But on this crisp, clear, December afternoon, as the board prepares to adopt California's first-ever standards for the teaching of mathematics, it is standing-room only in the small meeting room in the state Department of Education headquarters on Capitol Mall. The "press table," set for two, is clearly inadequate for the gaggle of mostly print reporters from the state's major newspapers. The scene is made almost surreal by an unfortunately timed building renovation, framing the seated board members in front of a rippling, floor-to-ceiling, translucent plastic construction drape that reflects light like a wall of ice. Seated at the head of the table, directly in front of the icy plastic: Eastin, unsmiling, and board president Yvonne Larsen, smiling archly as she attempts to keep order in the noisy, messy room.

Accentuated by the backlit plastic sheet behind them, the longstanding enmity between the board president and the superintendent — two disparate figures in California's historically conflicted system of educational governance — is a palpable presence in the room. Often hamstrung by a

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board appointed by a Republican governor openly hostile to many of her views, the blunt-speaking Eastin, a former Democratic state assemblywoman, holds a job with limited power over local schools and virtually no control over the huge education budget. She even must seek board approval to hire some of her key staff at the department.

So, besides arguing with the board and the governor, what exactly does Eastin do with her time?

It's late morning on the Friday before Christmas, and Eastin finally finds time for a face-to-face interview, one that is not conducted by cellular phone from her car. A disciplined and sometimes theatrical woman — she credits a high school drama teacher with helping her overcome severe adolescent shyness — she makes a grand entrance, wearing a bright red suit accented with gold and red patent leather pumps. Several staffers hover near the entrance to Eastin's fifth-floor office in the aging state education building, where the carpet in the superintendent's office was held together with duct tape when she took possession in January 1995. "Duct tape!" she exclaims. "And it was dirty, hadn't been replaced in 23 years!"

Outspoken, often irritating to colleagues and even friends, Eastin regularly airs her sometimes unconventional educational theories to just about anyone who will listen. An articulate, compelling public speaker, she has just returned from visiting schools in remote Trinity County — the 58th of California's 58 counties that she has visited in her first term and something she says was not achieved by any superintendent before her. Dismissing critics who say she travels too much, she clearly relishes this elemental political contact.

"Actually," she says, "there was something in the first state Constitution that the superintendent should 'travel by horse' to visit schools. I know people say I do it for political reasons, but I actually think it was one of the most instructional things for my own development that I ever could have done. You cannot go to a rural county and fail to hear about the challenges of transportation, for example, and how much it takes out of their general operating budget. When Highway 395 collapses, it is a tragedy and an inconvenience. But for the children who go to school in Lone Pine, it literally means traveling through Nevada to get to school, adding 45 minutes a day to their commute. So you get a much different picture when you get on the road."

She has also gained something of a national reputation — and, as a result, the enduring enmity of some state board members — by traveling to Washington, D.C., to support President Bill Clinton's push for national school testing. Her picture was on the front page of the *New York Times* with Clinton. She and Larsen traded several especially barbed letters after Larsen suggested Eastin advise the board before making a national junket on an issue as sensitive as school standards, which implied to Eastin that she needed permission. Both say they've since mended their fences — "all that happens when you don't mend the fences is the cattle get out," says Eastin. But the relationship took another frosty turn in the recent flap over math standards, when Eastin accused the board of "dumbing down" the standards recommended by the state Academic Standards Commission, and again when the board sued Eastin in a continuing dispute over the policy-setting authority of the board, which was given broad policy powers over the superintendent in a landmark 1993 appellate court decision prior to Eastin's election.

Some prominent state educators — including those

generally supportive of Eastin's views — say her pugnacious style sometimes gets her in unnecessary trouble, such as the time she called Wilson a "knucklehead," then quickly apologized. "She spends a lot of time giving speeches, which is part of being superintendent," adds one prominent state educator, who, like several others, asked not to be named. "But you also have to mind the store." In the state Legislature, although she was regarded as an articulate advocate of educational issues and a lawmaker who could stand up to former Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, her colleagues recall a "confrontational" style that could be aggravating.

Conversations with Eastin often tend to become mini-speeches, or, as several critics put it, "30-second sound bites." Fellow legislators recall, with some amusement, her speeches, even to Democratic colleagues in caucus. "She would make the same speeches," said one legislator. "It's like your colleague is lecturing to you with the same stories. She just sometimes gets carried away."

Even board members who have not previously been openly critical of Eastin were stunned by her very public broadside against the board on the math standards. "Some of the name-calling and use of words like 'dumbing down' were a bit inflammatory," says Robert Trigg, a highly respected former superintendent of the Elk Grove Unified School District near Sacramento who is one of two Democrats on the board. "There were very fine people on both sides of that issue. It shouldn't be an issue where there are good guys and bad guys."

Eastin says her historically edgy relationship with the board "is chillier right now than it's been for a long time." She cites disagreements with the board over the handling of a San Francisco school desegregation case. And she remains disappointed by the board's action on the math standards. "They changed the standards in a way that I found to be unacceptable and frankly indefensible," she says. And she remains intensely, openly critical of Wilson, who has taken

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an increasingly aggressive role in state education — a role she says he came to late and only after public outcries about the declining state of California schools. She calls the governor's recent push for an education initiative on the November ballot "a dog's breakfast of ideas — pick some good ideas, put them together, and also lay the groundwork for [school] vouchers."

She ticks off a list of school policy issues of which she was an early advocate: mandatory summer school for kids who are falling behind, longer school years, tougher academic standards, performance-based management, technology, and the enormously popular push for smaller classes artfully claimed by Wilson as a personal triumph. "Class-size reduction is clearly something I talked about in the [1994] campaign]," she says. "I was ridiculed for it by a variety of different people who said it was too expensive, irresponsible and impossible. I fought to bring balance back into the reading curriculum, and attempted to bring it back into the math curriculum. I was one of the early advocates of lengthening the school year. Now we have people like [Senator] Jim Brulte holding press conferences saying they want to lengthen the school year. We've been trying to do that since I was in the Legislature. Where *were* you, Jim?"

She is adamant about her proposals for expanding the arts curriculum in schools, for universal preschool, even for a program of school gardens tended by students. Responding to critics who say California simply cannot afford every school improvement proposal, however noble, Eastin says: "If I were running the state like a business, I would make education the core interest of the budget of the state. If we could get this state's investment in education back to the national average, we could afford to do every single thing I have advocated."

Critics and supporters alike praise Eastin's stellar use of the bully pulpit, truly one of the superintendent's major — some say her only — political tool. "One of Delaine's greatest strengths is her ability to communicate to people outside Sacramento," says Senator Dede Alpert (D-Coronado). "Her storytelling ability, her ideas. When real people hear her talk, they are really jazzed by the whole thing and see a real vision for kids. While I don't always agree with every idea Delaine has, in the Legislature and as superintendent, [she] has at least put some things out there and has tried to move forward. I think sometimes the criticism of her is because she would take action before checking with the [education] interest groups. Her constituency is the children, not the educational establishment."

Eastin's aggressive, take-no-prisoners political persona is probably not well understood in the staid — some would say hidebound — world of education policy. It is a realm in which the state superintendent has traditionally been a low-key mediator among many factions; an arena where the stereotypical image of endless arguments over the number of angels on the head of the pin is truly descriptive. Politicians don't always, well, *fit* in that milieu. Most of the state's superintendents in the ostensibly nonpartisan office have come from education rather than from politics — and Eastin's handlers are quick to point out that she was a community college instructor for eight years before she went to work as an executive for Pacific Telesis, and then into local and state politics.

Ask her critics which story among many they are particularly tired of hearing, and they will tell you it's the one about her humble, blue-collar background, the daughter of a Navy machinist father with the soul of a poet and a mother who worked in a dress shop. But lately they are paying more attention, as she tells the whole story. When she does, the aggressive, pit-bull persona becomes uncharacteristically quiet, hesitant even.

In the 1950s when Eastin was growing up, "dysfunctional family" was not a household word. Dysfunctions were kept behind closed doors, dirty little and large family secrets up and down the block. Eastin's mother and maternal grandmother, who lived with her family, were both lifelong alcoholics, and when her father had to work nights, "the inmates were left to run the asylum," she says with a bitter smile. "They were not very good adults when they were drinking, neither one of them. They would have these incredible fights and throw things and scream." Her mother never drank on the job or went to work drunk, but she drank every night after work, making it difficult for the young Delaine to bring friends home after school.

"I had a friend, Karen, who lived up the street, and her family was a bit, well, unconventional, and so she and I would sort of hide out together," she recalls. "When I look back on it, on our block, there were a lot of different scandals and weird things going on. That's why I say if you're not from a dysfunctional family, you're married to someone who is, or both, or your best friend is...

"Which is why I have always found it rather bizarre and un-American that we would say the reason kids aren't doing as well today, and the reason we can't expect as much, is because more kids are from dysfunctional families, because we've always had a lot of kids from dysfunctional families."

Born in San Diego, Eastin, 50, received her bachelor's degree from the University of California, Davis, and a master's degree in political science from UC Santa Barbara. She then taught government and political science in DeAnza, Ventura and Canada community colleges for eight years. She served two terms as a city councilwoman in Union City and was elected to the Assembly in 1986, chairing the Assembly Education Committee. Her 1994 campaign for state superintendent was a bruising contest against Maureen DiMarco, Wilson's first secretary of child development and education. She was virtually unopposed for re-election until last month, when bilingual education opponent Gloria Matta Tuchman, a Santa Ana teacher who finished fifth in a field of 12 candidates in 1994, announced she would run again. Tuchman, 56, is a Republican. Eastin lives in Fremont with her husband of 25 years, Jack Saunders, who works in corporate communications for Pacific Telesis but maintains a residence in Sacramento.

Widely believed to have ambitions for the governorship, she dismisses those notions as premature. "I think there are lots of good reasons why good people should want to be governor," she says, "but I think it's very hard in this [political] environment, because of the nastiness. And because of the cost, you're [not] going to see many daughters of machinists running for these jobs.

"I don't rule it out, but I don't rule it in. My husband's not a big fan. He thinks I ought to finish this second term and then we ought to go live on a desert island somewhere. That does have appeal."

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Teacher

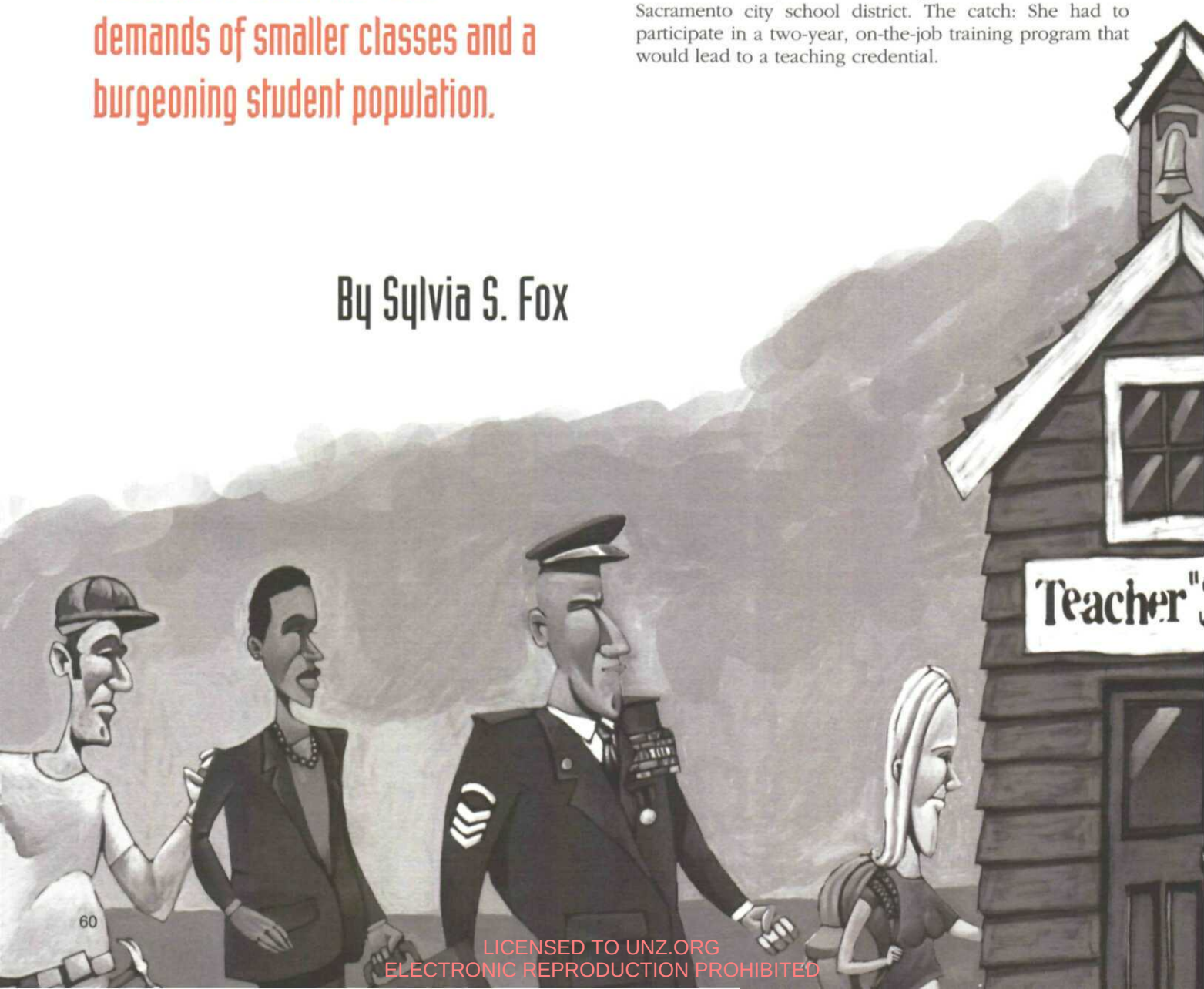
Ideally, there would only be credentialed teachers in every California classroom. But the reality is far from the ideal — a serious shortage of qualified teachers to cover the twin demands of smaller classes and a burgeoning student population.

By Sylvia S. Fox

Their sixth-grade classrooms sit back to back at the far corner of David Lubin Elementary School in the Sacramento City Unified School District.

Both first-time teachers, Nicole Andrews and Karna Cataline were handed the keys — and the responsibility — for their very first classrooms in August. Although both are working with temporary permits, neither is fully credentialed.

Andrews, who has a master's degree in English, taught part time for four years at local colleges — finally realizing that the hiring freeze for full-time faculty in higher education wasn't going away. She had her 30-day emergency teaching permit but hadn't even substituted in a classroom when she spotted a flyer about a teaching internship that would place her in a full-time, salaried teaching job with benefits in the Sacramento city school district. The catch: She had to participate in a two-year, on-the-job training program that would lead to a teaching credential.



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Shortage

Catalina is teaching with a first-year emergency permit, after working part time as an aide at the school for six years while she raised her two children. She was in the substitute teaching pool when the full-time position suddenly opened a week before classes began.

The California credentialing structure is undergoing a hurried overhaul — some critics say too hurried — in order to produce enough qualified teachers to support a burgeoning student population, replace retiring teachers, and fill slots created by class-size reduction. Recent legislation is aimed at expanding statewide recruiting efforts, as well as providing support for new teachers. But it will be several years and substantial funding before recruitment and training can catch up with need.

Largely due to the demands of class-size reduction, the number of teachers with emergency permits for kindergarten through sixth grade doubled to 12,300 in 1996-97. More than 10,000 emergency permits for K-6 have been issued so far this year, with the Commission on Teacher Credentialing predicting the final tally may top 14,000.

The total number of emergency permits for all grades has reached a record-breaking 21,000 — a figure which is unacceptable to former state Senator Gary Hart, a former teacher and Senate Education Committee chairman who is now director of the Institute for Education Reform at California State University, Sacramento. "As long as you have 21,000 people who don't have the minimum qualifications," Hart said, "it must be a state of emergency."

Bob Salley, director of certification for the credentialing commission, predicts the number of emergency permits won't decrease until 1999-2000. "Not all districts are as far along with implementation and expansion for class-size reductions as others," Salley said. "This year and next, the number will go up for emergency permits." If all the programs in place for recruiting, training, retention and teacher support are going full-bore, he added, they should have substantial impact by 1998-99. He hopes to see a drop in emergency permits by the following year.

Linda Bond, the commission's governmental affairs director, said school districts want to place the most qualified teachers in the classroom first, then "backfill" with emergency-permit holders. The latter are most often individuals who have a college degree and have passed the CBEST, the basic skills test required for all teachers, but are missing a subject area and teacher training — or may simply be teaching outside their subject areas.

Recruitment is the first wave of attack, she said, especially targeting already credentialed teachers who have been teaching in private schools or have left the teaching profession. This group includes the "phantom teaching force" — those who earn a teaching credential and never use it. Out-of-state teachers who are credentialed also are being recruited, and Assembly Bill 1620, introduced this session by Assemblyman Jack Scott (D-Pasadena) and sponsored by the commission, would ease current credentialing restrictions for qualified out-of-state teachers.

Bond says the commission's goal is to provide teacher

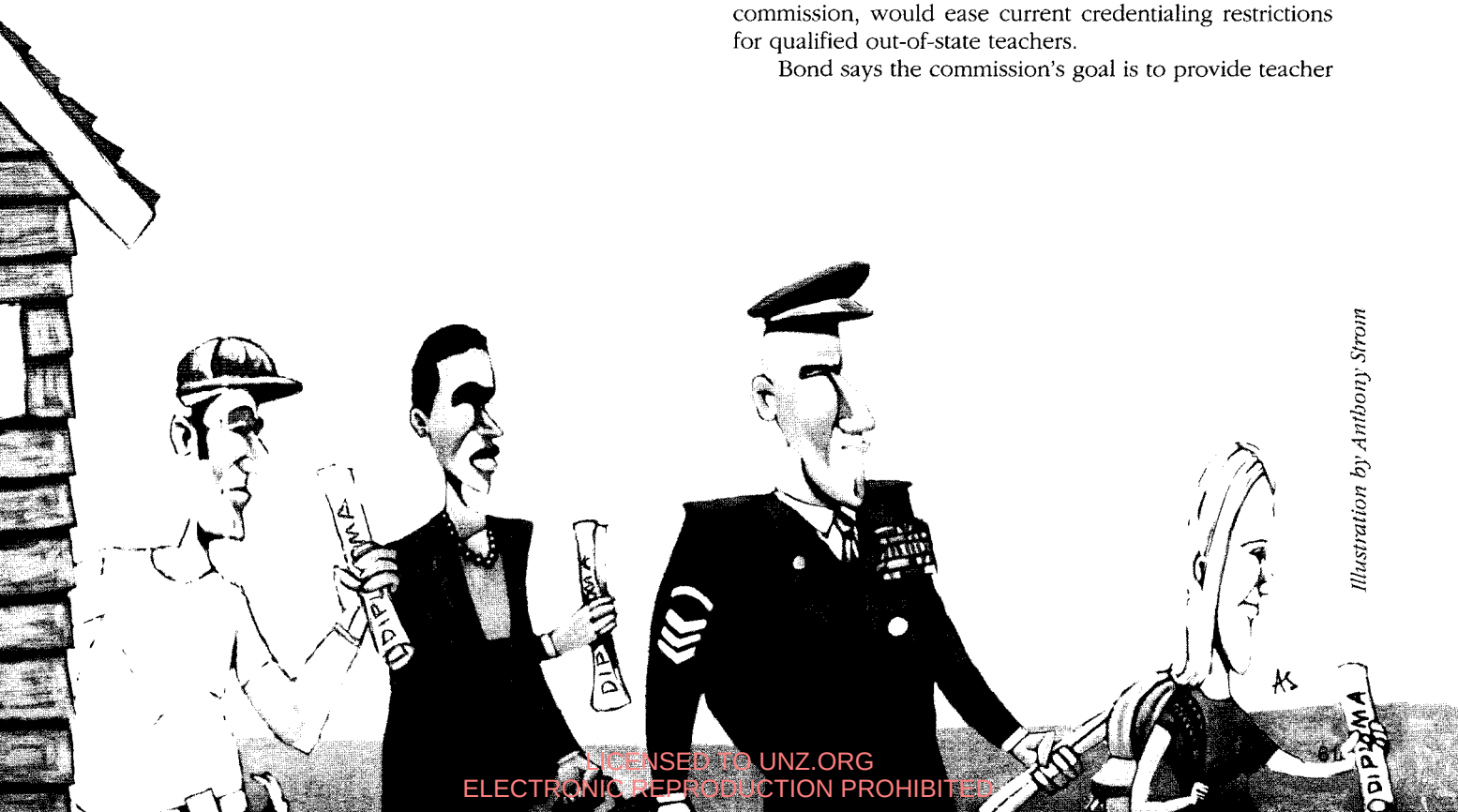

Illustration by Anthony Strom

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training on a timely basis, either through the conventional method, whereby a college graduate enters a university teacher preparation program — or through an alternative program, such as the teaching internships, which allow professionals to change careers holding a full-time teaching job while receiving structured-on-the-job training. "What we're seeing ... is an increased focus on alternative routes to teacher credentialing," said Paul Warren, director of the educational unit at the Legislative Analyst's Office.

Nicole Andrews, on the job in her Sacramento classroom, says she would never have made the switch to a very demanding "12 hours a day every day" teaching job in a public school without the internship. "I had been in school for nine years," she said. "I needed to make a living."

While simple math says the numbers aren't even close to filling the current need, interest in teaching jobs is on the rise.

State Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin said that following the announcement of class-size reduction, the number of applicants scheduled to take the CBEST doubled. Jan Cross, coordinator of the Teacher Preparation Program at CSU Sacramento, said phone inquiries have increased "exponentially" for the traditional teacher-training program. In a recently formed partnership between CSUS and the University of California, Davis, 600 inquiries were logged for 60 available slots — with instruction aimed at teachers currently employed under emergency permits or those considering a career change.

Frank Meder, coordinator of the Sacramento city school district's internship program, said he is getting 15 to 20 calls a day about its internship program through CSU Sacramento, although there are only 50 slots available in the fall semester.

Michael McKibbin, who helps coordinate alternative certification for the commission, said the past three years have shown massive growth in the number of internships, from less than 5 percent to almost 25 percent of all teachers coming up through an internship program.

The governor's proposed state budget earmarks another $1 million to expand alternative certification in 53 university and district internship programs raising funding to $7.5 million annually. Designed to reduce the number of teachers on emergency permits, the effort will push candidates through a rapid credentialing program which supporters say is the most practical and pragmatic method — certainly the most cost-effective for someone wanting to become a teacher.

Cataline says she would like to take advantage of the internship opportunity because required classes are arranged around a full-time teaching job, which is impossible under the traditional approach. Because she converted her 30-day permit into a one-year emergency permit, she has no priority for a position for next year. In fact, districts prefer not to renew an emergency permit if they can get a credentialed teacher. She also faces a a five-year time limit for her emergency permit because of recent legislation.

Scott says the state rushed into class-size reduction without fully realizing the consequences — and one of those has been a lack of credentialed teachers. "I don't have to be a mathematician to see we've increased the need [for credentialed teachers] by 50 percent," he said.

Although Scott, former president of Pasadena City College, is a strong supporter of class-size reduction, he also cautions that "reform will do us very little value if the teachers aren't qualified." The commission estimates that two-thirds to three-fourths of all emergency permit holders never become fully certificated. McKibbin says lack of on-the-job support for new teachers is a critical issue, because the least experienced teachers may also be put in some of the toughest teaching situations.

"They may never get help, or get the worst classroom," McKibbin said. "Our data say they're going to drop out, and I can understand why they do."

He said internship programs provide necessary structure and support. Andrews talks to her teaching mentor at least two hours a week, has monthly contact with her teaching supervisor, and the principal drops in at least every other week to unofficially observe. She also takes 12 to 15 university credits in teacher training each semester. She said the formal support has been "overwhelming." But she said the most useful assistance has been the intense peer support, created by a summer of working in the Phase I portion of teacher training, followed by evening classes the interns all take together twice a week, and an ongoing phone network.

To create additional early support, Assembly Bill 351, authored by Scott and signed into law last year, establishes a pre-internship credential aimed at reducing the number of teachers on emergency permits by moving them into preparation more quickly. If the pilot program is effective, the long-term goal is to replace emergency credentials except in areas of the state that are geographically remote or have other unique circumstances. Almost half of the interns in the Sacramento district program this year had worked on emergency permits.

McKibbin cites three critical elements for success: get the teacher qualified quickly in the subject matter, give new teachers "survival skills" — often as simple as learning how to be sure the same number of kids come back from the bathroom as leave — and provide ongoing peer support.

McKibbin said teacher training for emergency permit holders is critical to the ultimate success, or failure, of the state's push for education reform. "We've got to get these people trained," he said. "We know who's going to get blamed [if they're not], and it's not going to be the politicians.

Virtually everyone involved in California education agrees that class-size reduction is the most innovative, dramatic and downright exciting educational reform they've seen in years.

But the success of smaller classes ultimately will hinge on the ability to find enough qualified bodies to stand in front of an elementary class and deliver the right words that will raise reading and math scores statewide — the fundamental promise upon which the 1996 implementation of class-size reduction is based.

Despite the obstacles, 94 percent of California districts decided to go with class-size reduction. "They did this with their shirttails hanging out, even though it was on short notice, in a big hurry, without adequate classrooms and with emergency permits," said Eastin.

She and others cautioned, however, that California's most troubled districts with the poorest student performance will have a more difficult time getting qualified people to work there. "If we have a shortage of teachers," says the Legislative Analyst's Warren, "the least attractive place to teach will feel it first."

Sylvia S. Fox is a Sacramento writer and professor of journalism at California State University, Sacramento.

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Washington Notes

perspective

by Marc Sandalow

The price of modern politics

On the afternoon of January 20, California Senator Dianne Feinstein informed two dozen reporters via conference call that she would not run for Governor. The following morning, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post* reported that the Whitewater independent counsel had expanded his probe to explore an alleged sexual relationship between President Bill Clinton and an obscure White House intern named Monica Lewinsky.

The timing of the occurrences was too much for some to handle. "There must be a connection," several level-headed people insisted to me. "The timing is too perfect. She must have been tipped."

It will disappoint the conspiracy theorists to learn that Feinstein had made up her mind the week before, that she was not tipped, and that even if she were, it seems just as logical for her to have responded by running for the shelter of Sacramento. But there is a connection between the two events. Anyone who wonders why Feinstein did not have the stomach for the governor's race need look no further than the current sex scandal embroiling Washington. Never has the media's, nor the public's, passion for polemics over policy been more evident.

Bill Clinton has probably spent more time reading, talking, and committing policy than any other creature over the past half century. So here is what the national press corps is wondering about the commander in chief: Does he consider oral sex adultery? Are his semen stains on a dress? Does his wife favor men or women sexually?

Personally, I believe Clinton deserves the humiliation. If the allegations are false, he has recklessly withheld information from the public. If the allegations are true, he is bald-faced liar. But Clinton's culpability is beside the point. The media crush that enveloped Washington the past month demonstrates quite clearly why Feinstein abhors the process.

Had Feinstein decided to run for governor, her service as a United States Senator for the remainder of 1998 would essentially have been forfeited. Forget about her plans to ban cloning, limit class sizes, protect privacy on the Internet, or crack down on gangs and drug-makers. Instead she would have been forced to answer questions about hiring of illegal immigrants, her husband's China connections, her presidential aspirations, her appeal to female voters, and so on.

Let's be honest. Most people, including many politicos and reporters, are bored by policy. They are interested in being entertained. Stories of oral sex in the Oval Office, or a popular lawmaker's political ambitions, are a hell of a lot more interesting to most than a discussion of entitlement reform or standards for third-grade mathematics.

In order to become governor of California — a job she has always wanted — Feinstein felt, and rightly so, that she would have had to put efforts to accomplish anything substantive on hold, and turn her attention to the art of politics. "The state of the political process, at this stage, does not have a lot to redeem it," Feinstein said, as she bowed out. "It has moments of spontaneity, it has moments of real discussion on the issues, but by and large, it doesn't have anything uplifting."

Wanting to serve in the 1990s means being willing to subject yourself to an unrelenting media crush. That much was obvious in the "will-she-or-won't-she" spectacle regarding Feinstein's candidacy that began in 1996, and culminated in a reporting feeding frenzy in January that completely overshadowed the kickoff of Feinstein's education initiative, and prompted her to cancel meetings with the editorial boards of the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle.*

Not everyone hates the underside of politics. There are many political animals for whom campaigns bring out their best. Clinton is the most obvious example. Willie Brown is another who never shied away from the political theater. In fact, most of Feinstein's closest confidantes (the exception being her daughter Katherine and husband Dick Blum) are political junkies, and wanted her to run. Feinstein was not willing.

Those who cannot shake their preconceptions of Feinstein's ambitions have advanced the theory that she did this to preserve her chances at being selected as the Democrat's vice-presidential candidate. That may well be one benefit of not running, but no one is foolhardy enough to walk away from the nation's most important governor's seat in the off chance of being selected as a running mate in the year 2000. Feinstein should be taken at her word.

The "pain threshold," as Clinton referred to it, claimed a second victim the following week when Leon Panetta also said no to a governor's bid. Like Feinstein, Panetta cited the quixotic task of trying to match Al Checci's millions as a major stumbling block. His enthusiasm was further diminished by the eight hours he spent before a grand jury during the last week of January explaining his role as Monica Lewinsky's White House boss. As Clinton's former chief of staff, he has found time to ruminate about the matter on "Larry King Live." As a candidate for governor, his Carmel Valley walnut grove would have already been trampled by reporters looking for a Monica connection.

The high price of public service was also cited as the main reason for retirement by Representatives Ron Dellums (D-Oakland) and Vic Fazio (D-Sacramento).

No one needs to point fingers. It is not the fault of the media, which is doing its job by pursuing Clinton's credibility, nor the public, which enjoys a lurid story. But no one should doubt that for all the glory of public life, there is a serious cost.

Marc Sandalow is the San Francisco Chronicle's *Washington bureau chief*

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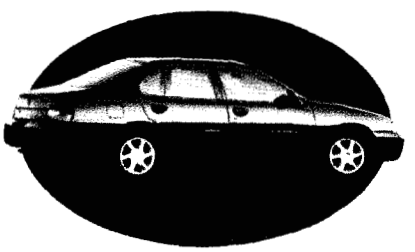

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